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ABSTRACT

This curriculum unit teaches students about nationalism within the context of Europe and is designed to help better understand the history of Yugoslavia and why Yugoslavia fell apart. The unit focuses on Yugoslavia as a multinational state and how the federation was organized during different historical time periods. There are three lessons in the unit. Lesson 1, "Europe, Yugoslavia, and Nationalism: An Introduction," introduces students to the geography of Europe and Yugoslavia and how nationalism was influenced by geographic factors. Lesson 2, "The Road to Sarajevo," uses a readers' theater to introduce students to events spanning a period from 1876 to 1918 and focuses on the assassination of the heir to the throne of the Austrian monarchy and the motivations behind the killing. Lesson 3, "The One and the Many: Unity and Diversity in a Multinational State," provides the opportunity to examine Yugoslavia and its various nationalities, exploring how this multinational state worked, or didn't, and what divided or united the various nationalities and republics during different times. Appendixes include a timeline, notes, and a list of 27 general resources and 29 suggested readings. (EH)

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Collapse of a Multinational State: The Case of Yugoslavia



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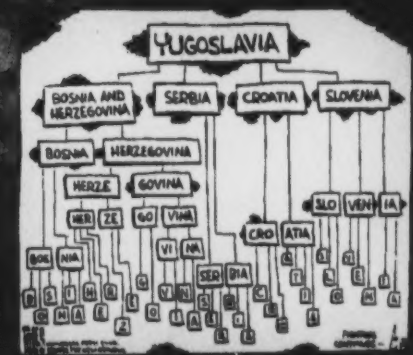
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COLLAPSE OF A MULTINATIONAL STATE: THE CASE OF YUGOSLAVIA

A Curriculum Unit for History and Social Studies

Recommended for
Grades 9 through Community College

Developed by

Reinhold Steinbeck

and the staff of the Europe Project
Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

unit introduction

Collapse of a Multinational State: The Case of Yugoslavia.....	9
Rationale.....	9
SPICE Curriculum Series on Nationalism and Identity	10
Unit Goals.....	10
Materials and Equipment	11
Time and Suggested Sequence of Activities.....	11
Icons	12

lesson one

Europe, Yugoslavia, and Nationalism: An Introduction.....	13
Part One: Setting the Context	15
Part Two: Nationalism—Ghosts from the Past	17
Handout 1A: A Cartoonist's Perspective	22
Handout 1B: Post-Cold War Europe	25
Handout 1C: Post-Cold War Europe—Answer Key.....	26
Handout 1D: Europe Pre-1989	27
Handout 1E: Ethnic Map of Europe	28
Handout 1F: Ethnic Map of the Former Yugoslavia	29
Handout 1G: The Newly Independent States And the "New" Yugoslavia	30
Handout 1H: The Republics of the Former Yugoslavia	31
Handout 1I: Key Terms & Concepts	32
Handout 1J: Key Terms & Concepts—Answer Key	33
Handout 1K: Journal.....	34

lesson two

The Road to Sarajevo	35
About Readers' Theater.....	36
Handout 2A: The Road to Sarajevo: A Readers' Theater	42
Handout 2B: Name Tags;	55

lesson three

The One and the Many: Unity and Diversity in a Multinational State	59
Handout 3A: Group One: 1918 - 1941: The "First" Yugoslavia	63
Handout 3B: Group Two: 1941 - 1945: World War II.....	65
Handout 3C: Group Three: 1945 - 1980: The "Second" Yugoslavia	67
Handout 3D: Group Four: 1980 - 1992: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia—One State Becomes Many	69
Transparency 3A: "I would like to live to see..."	71
Handout 3E: Journal	72

appendices

Timeline	75
General Resources and Suggested Readings	86
Notes	90

Unit Introduction

COLLAPSE OF A MULTINATIONAL STATE: THE CASE OF YUGOSLAVIA

"No one should be faced with disadvantages because he belongs to another part of the population. People from one group are not worse than people from another, and excessive nationalism has often led to war."

Otto Frank, father of Anne Frank, in a letter to a Flemish student, 1969

Rationale

In Europe today, nationalistic sentiments are again on the rise. In many Eastern and Western European countries the motto "Our Own People First," or some variation of it, is receiving increasingly more support. But nowhere in Europe is the ugly face of nationalism so visible as in the former Yugoslavia.

In a scenic country where only a few years ago many Europeans went on holiday, a bloody conflict is raging, fed on mutual hatred, nationalistic sentiments, and ethnic differences. Almost one million people in Bosnia-Herzegovina are trapped in their own cities and villages, suffering from hunger. Approximately 2.5 million people have sought temporary asylum abroad.

It is in Bosnia-Herzegovina where the most extreme consequences of the notion "Our Own People First" can be seen. There the idea that *our* country is exclusively for *our* people has been implemented with tragic results. In a land where about 20 percent of the marriages are mixed, extreme nationalists are trying to rearrange their country artificially to produce ethnic purity. All who are 'ethnically impure' are driven out or murdered. The Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina are particularly victimized by this policy.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia has led to a reevaluation of the idea that a multiethnic, multinational state can be a viable entity. The factors that led to the dismantling of such a state as Yugoslavia are many and are open to revision, but one of the challenges that can be seen from the process is clear. Can a civil society and a democratic policy be based on ideas and interests that translate equally well into the different languages, the different religions, and the varied cultures of Europe.

This curriculum unit, which is part two of a series of curriculum units exploring nationalism within the context of Europe, is designed to help

unit introduction

students better understand the history of Yugoslavia and why Yugoslavia fell apart.

The unit focuses on Yugoslavia as a multinational state and how this federation was organized during different historical time periods. The first lesson introduces students to the geography of Europe and Yugoslavia. It will help them define, relate, and distinguish important terms needed for understanding the concept of nationalism and the dynamics occurring within the former Yugoslavia.

In Lesson Two, a Readers' Theater introduces students to events spanning a period from 1876 to 1918. The focus of this time period is the assassination of the heir to the throne of the Austrian monarchy and the motivations behind the killing.

In Lesson Three, students will look at Yugoslavia and its various nationalities from the perspective of "The One and the Many," exploring how this multinational state worked, or didn't, and what divided or united the various nationalities and republics during different times.

SPICE Curriculum Series on Nationalism and Identity

With funding from the United States Institute of Peace and the United States Department of Education, the Europe Project of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE) has developed a three-part series of curriculum units exploring nationalism within a European context.

Part One of the series, *Nationalism and Identity in a European Context* (149 pp.), is designed to help students better understand the concept of nationalism—one of the strongest group sentiments in the world today—and the role it plays in generating conflict throughout Europe and the world. This unit, designed for grades 9-adult, introduces basic concepts of ethnicity and nationalism by drawing upon historical and contemporary examples. Students develop working definitions of key terms such as *nation*, *state*, *nationalism*, *sovereignty*, *ethnic group*, and *identity*. The changing face of Europe as influenced by national and ethnic interests is examined, and ethnicity and nationalism as dynamic factors in newly forming and continuing democratic societies is explored. The unit includes a simulation on identity in which students explore the concepts of personal and group identity. We highly recommend that you introduce students to these complex concepts before you teach this unit on Yugoslavia.

Part Three of the series, *Homeless in the Homeland: Minorities in Germany*, is a German language unit for intermediate and advanced German. For further information, please call 1-800-578-1114.

Unit Goals

- to learn about the history of Yugoslavia and the dynamics between the various nationalities within the multinational federation and the state

unit introduction

- to define, relate, and distinguish key terms needed for understanding the concept of nationalism, such as *nation, state, country, nation-state, ethnic group, ethnicity, nationalism, sovereignty, and autonomy*
- to learn about the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and to gain insight into the motivations of the assassins
- to become aware of the conflicts resulting from the discrepancy existing in many European countries between state boundaries and national, ethnic, linguistic and/or religious identities, with a particular emphasis on the former Yugoslavia
- to learn about the changes that have taken place recently in the political geography of Europe
- to increase awareness of the fact that the former Yugoslavia was multiethnic and multinational
- to explore the reasons for national and ethnic conflicts and to examine and develop approaches to channel different nationalities away from conflict and toward cooperation

Materials and Equipment

A number of handouts has been provided with each lesson to give students a range of different perspectives. The list of materials in each lesson states how many copies of each handout are required and how they should be distributed. When a handout on the materials list is followed by "see procedures," check the lesson plan to count the exact number of photocopies you will need. Other materials needed include:

- Overhead projector
- Colored paper
- Slide Projector
- Butcher paper
- Felt pens
- VCR (optional)

Connection to the History and Social Science Curriculum

This curriculum unit is designed to be used with students in grades 9 through community college, in particular for a modern world history course. The activities in this unit focus on the history of the former Yugoslavia and on the concept of nationalism in a European context. This unit may be a valuable supplement for teachers focusing on World War I or on some of the major and unresolved problems of the modern world.

Time and Suggested Sequence of Activities

Each of the unit's lessons can be integrated into your curriculum where it best suits your needs. However, we do recommend that you teach the unit as a whole. The following suggested sequence of activities will give you an idea of how the unit is designed:

unit introduction

- *Lesson One (suggested length: one to two class periods)*



What are some of the major changes in the political geography of Europe and Yugoslavia? What is nationalism?

In this two-part lesson, students become familiar with the political geography of Europe and the former Yugoslavia. They then develop working definitions of the key terms and concepts used throughout the unit. The lesson ends with a journal entry that provides students with an opportunity to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a multinational state.

- *Lesson Two (suggested length: one to two class periods)*



What events and motivations lead to the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and what consequences resulted?

In this lesson, students are introduced to events spanning a period from 1876 to 1918 through a Readers' Theater. The focus of this lesson is the assassination of the heir to the throne of the Austrian monarchy and the motivations behind the assassination.

- *Lesson Three (suggested length: one to two class periods)*



What kept Yugoslavia and its various nationalities together, and what drove them apart during various periods in Yugoslavia's history?

Students look at Yugoslavia and its various nationalities and republics from the perspective of "The One and the Many," exploring how this multinational state worked, how it didn't work, and what divided or united the various nationalities during different periods.

Icons The following icons have been provided for ease of reference:

Slides:



Group work:



Notes to the teacher:



Homework:



Information:



Videotape:



Lesson One

EUROPE, YUGOSLAVIA, AND NATIONALISM: AN INTRODUCTION



What are some of the major changes in the political geography of Europe and Yugoslavia? What is nationalism?

Introduction

Over the past years, scarcely a day has gone by when we have not been reminded by the media of the revolutionary events that have taken place in both Eastern and Western Europe. These events released a momentum for radical change on a scale not seen in Europe for nearly half a century. The map of Europe is once again in transition. The Europe of the past 45 years has partly disappeared; old frontiers are reemerging from the mists of history, and well-established national borders are under threat as populations seek to regroup themselves along ethnic lines. The rampage of violence in the former Yugoslavia and the ethnic tensions throughout Eastern Europe are but the latest indicators that nationalism and ethnic consciousness will be critical factors in the international politics of the post-Cold War era. Even after the latest round of border alignments settle, it would be rash to conclude that the map of Europe has attained its final, definite shape.

In this two-part lesson, students will become familiar with the political geography of Europe and the former Yugoslavia. They then develop working definitions of the key terms and concepts used throughout the unit. The lesson ends with a journal entry that provides students with an opportunity to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a multinational state.

Objectives

- to identify some of the major changes that have taken place in the political geography of the former Yugoslavia and other Eastern European countries
- to examine the potential conflicts resulting from the existence of multiple nationalities within one political entity
- to become aware of the fact that the former Yugoslavia as well as most Eastern European states are multiethnic and multinational
- to gain an understanding of the key terms and concepts related to nationalism

lesson one

- to increase the understanding of what it can mean to be part of a larger group consisting of several smaller groups of different identities

Connection to the History and Social Science Curriculum

This lesson can be used with students in grades 9 through community college, in particular for a modern world history course. The activities in this lesson focus on the political geography of the former Yugoslavia and on the concept of nationalism within a European context. They may be a valuable supplement for teachers who are focusing on World War I or on some of the major and unresolved problems of the modern world.

Time

We recommend one to two class periods for this lesson, depending on students' previous knowledge of the political geography of Yugoslavia and Europe, and of the concept of nationalism.

Materials

- Handout 1A, *A Cartoonist's Perspective*, one copy per student pair
- Handout 1B, *Post-Cold War Europe*, one copy per student pair
- Handout 1C, *Post-Cold War Europe—Answer Key*, one copy per student pair
- Handout 1D, *Europe Pre-1989*, one copy per student pair
- Handout 1E, *Ethnic Map of Europe*, one copy per student pair
- Handout 1F, *Ethnic Map of the Former Yugoslavia*, one copy per student pair
- Handout 1G, *The Newly Independent States And the "New" Yugoslavia*, one copy per student pair
- Handout 1H, *The Republics of the Former Yugoslavia*, one copy per student pair
- Handout 1I, *Key Terms & Concepts*, one copy per group
- Handout 1J, *Key Terms & Concepts—Answer Key*, one copy per group
- Handout 1K, *Journal*, one copy per student

lesson one, part one

PART ONE: SETTING THE CONTEXT

The following cartoon and mapping activities will set the geographic and thematic context for this lesson.

Cartoon Activities

A political cartoon is an ideal stimulus for developing students' analytical and writing skills. Pictures, quotations, poems, and a moral dilemma also work. Most writing is based on the writer's perception of the world. A writing activity interpreting a political cartoon will help student writers focus their observations on the details, as well as on the whole, and allow them to see the interrelationships of these details. Writing is reasoning in action. The process of thinking takes place when students write. In the case of writing about political cartoons, the mental processes may include translating, interpreting, analyzing, and evaluating. The writing activity can encourage and develop these processes.

Suggested Procedures



1. Divide students into pairs and distribute a copy of Handout 1A, *Cartoonist's Perspective*, to each pair. All of the cartoons portray one or more concepts related to national and ethnic conflicts that have taken place in Yugoslavia and in other parts of Europe after the end of the Cold War. Assign one or more cartoons to each group, and ask students to list as many of these concepts as they can.
2. Have student pairs generate a series of questions (approximately 5-15) that are based on one of the political cartoons. Avoid the question: "What is the cartoon all about?" This question is a discussion killer; save it for the end. Instead, have students focus on the details and their interrelationships. Write the questions on the board as the students formulate them. Examples include: Who is the man in the cartoon? What is he doing? Why is he doing that? Why is he shown doing what he is doing? What is the connection to the setting? Developing a series of questions serves two purposes. First, it helps students put their observations into words. Second, by asking questions that focus on the details of the cartoon, the students will begin to see the interrelationships of the parts.
3. When the student pairs have considered all of the possible questions, have them suggest answers to the questions. Let the students report their findings to the rest of the class and discuss the answers. Write the answers alongside the questions on the chalkboard.
4. The students are now ready to begin their writing assignment.
5. Keep students in pairs and distribute one copy of Handout 1B, *Post-Cold War Europe*, to each pair. Ask them to locate as many European countries as possible and label these countries on their map. Remind students that Handout 1B represents Europe after radical changes had taken place in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Lesson one, part one

6. Ask pairs to exchange their maps and distribute one copy of Handout 1C, *Post-Cold War Europe—Answer Key*, to each pair. Ask students to correct the maps.
7. Distribute one copy of Handout 1D, *Europe Pre-1989*, Handout 1E, *Ethnic Map of Europe*, Handout 1F, *Ethnic Map of the Former Yugoslavia*, Handout 1G, *The Newly Independent States And the "New" Yugoslavia*, and of Handout 1H, *The Republics of the Former Yugoslavia*, to each pair. Have students compare these two maps with the map that shows post-Cold War Europe (Handout 1B). What conclusions can they draw from the comparisons? You may want to ask them the following questions:
 - Where do political borders and ethnic borders cut across each other? In Yugoslavia? In other Eastern European countries?
 - Where are more than one ethnic/national group part of the same political unit? In the former Yugoslavia? In other Eastern European countries?
 - What happened in some of the areas where political and ethnic/national boundaries were different? In Yugoslavia? In other Eastern European countries?



The Balkans is an elastic term, meaning different things in different contexts. *Balkan*, a Turkish word for mountain, was given to a chain of mountains arising in southern Yugoslavia and running south of the Danube River 850 miles eastward across Bulgaria almost to the Black Sea. Early in the 19th century, Westerners began designating the entire peninsula south of these mountains as "the Balkans." This area included not only Bulgaria and southern Yugoslavia but Greece and the European portion of Turkey.

What are the Balkans?

Today, the Balkans usually refers to Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, the former Yugoslavia, and sometimes Hungary. Greece and Turkey are often excluded, although they are south of the Danube. If Hungary, Greece and Turkey are labeled Balkan, it is likely to be for their long involvement in the affairs of that region.

Historically, Russia and Austria also have been key players in the region, and Russia continues to be. In fact, some scholars contend that Russian territory eastward to the Dneister River should be considered part of the Balkans. This region includes Bessarabia, which has repeatedly changed hands between Romania and Russia.

The word *Balkans* has never been popular with the people of southeastern Europe to whom it has been applied—chiefly by outsiders. They resent the inference that they are of a common ethnic origin. Romanians pride fully point to a Latin heritage derived from ancient Roman settlements on the Danube and boast of being a "Latin island in a sea of Slavs." Greeks align themselves with a Mediterranean civilization that their ancestors were instrumental in defining. Hungarians, or Magyars, originally an Asian people related in language to Finns and

lesson one, part one

Estonians, have long thought of their country as an eastern outpost of Western Europe. And Albanians claim to be direct descendants of Illyrians, inhabitants of the Aegean seacoast at the dawn of history.

The South (or "Yugo") Slavic people, the biggest population group in the Balkans today, probably began moving there from the present-day Ukraine in sizable numbers in the 6th century. From the various Slavic migrations have sprung related subgroups, including Serbs and Croats. Bulgars, originally a Hun people from Mongolia, came into the Balkans in the 7th century and gradually were absorbed by indigenous Slavs. Turks of the conquering Ottoman Empire constituted the last big wave of immigrants. They began infiltrating the peninsula in the 14th century, well in advance of the 400-year conquest that ended only in this century.

With few exceptions, the Balkans have not been a melting pot. High mountain ridges permeate the region and tend to separate and divide ("balkanize") one people from another. True to its name, the Balkan landscape is dominated by mountains and sliced through by rivers (notably the Danube and its tributaries). Since recorded times, the rivers have been the routes of commerce—and invasion.¹

PART TWO: NATIONALISM—GHOSTS FROM THE PAST



What is Nationalism?

For many who grew up during the Cold War, nationalist violence in the former Yugoslavia, as well as other parts of Eastern Europe, is symbolic of the conflicts of the post-Cold War era. However, there is nothing new about nationalism, particularly in Europe; it has been a powerful presence there for centuries. Violent nationalist campaigns were the seeds of World War I and World War II.

The concept of nationalism is filled with enormous complexities—with inconsistencies, contradictions, and paradoxes. The varied meanings given to the word are just the beginning of the difficulties that students might face when they study nationalism. It is a sentiment filled with emotional overtones, and definitions of nationalism are as numerous as the individuals who have attempted definitions. There is even a complete encyclopedia just on this one concept.²

Not only do people begin with different assumptions about nationalism and reach different conclusions, but nationalism itself has varied with time, place, and circumstances, and is continually changing. Nationalism works through a multiplicity of forms, some sharply defined and obvious to all, some vague and hidden; some directed to cultural integration, others to political ends; some democratic in character, others tending towards authoritarianism or dictatorship. Nationalism has a tremendous potential to act both as a positive or negative force. It can be a force for unity, or a force for disruption and division. The nationalism of each group or nation is different from the nationalism of every other

lesson one, part two

group or nation. If there is any agreement on any aspect of nationalism, it is this: the nature of nationalism differs from case to case and changes over time.

Nationalism can produce separatist movements that want to break away from other nationalities and form new independent nations. The world witnessed this process in 1990 and 1991 when the Soviet Union splintered into 15 sovereign states. Another example is the attempt by some Canadian citizens in the French-speaking province of Quebec to secede from Canada. Nationalist and separatist movements claim to merely be exercising their right of self-determination—the right of a nationality to determine its own political and territorial status. The principle of self-determination was promoted by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson after World War I when he said, “National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now dominate and be governed by their own consent.” However, Wilson and others soon realized that when carried to extremes, self-determination and some forms of nationalism can have disastrous effects on international peace and stability.

Other terms that are closely connected to the concept of nationalism can be equally confusing: *nation*, *nationality*, *ethnic group*, and *ethnicity*.

For more information on the concept and the history of nationalism see part one of the three-part SPICE curriculum series on Nationalism and Identity, *Nationalism and Identity in a European Context*.



About Nations, Nationalities and Ethnic Groups

It is important to understand that Yugoslavia never was a nation-state, but a state composed of six constituent nations—Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians, and Muslims.

The creation of Yugoslavia in 1918 after World War I was the result of struggles for national independence against the empires of Austria, Hungary, and Turkey during the 19th century. The Great Powers sitting at Versailles at the end of World War I determined its composition and constitution. Although they used President Woodrow Wilson’s principle of national self-determination to justify the end of empires, they tried to form Yugoslavia as a multinational state.

The *nationality principle* is based on the idea that every state should have its own nation and that every nation should have its own state. Or, in other words, two different dimensions of collective identity—civic and ethnic—should come together in the “ideal” construction of the *nation-state*: nationhood and citizenship should be the same.

Although most modern states are built on the nationality principle, there are only a few states which practice it completely. Many nationalities, especially in Eastern Europe, were divided when state borders were (re-)drawn to establish new countries. Others were artificially brought together. Most contemporary states are in fact multinational states with a number of national groups coexisting within a single political structure. However, only a relatively small number of states make constitutional or other legal provisions to protect their

lesson one, part two

multiple nationalities. It is in this framework that issues of minority rights within a state arise.

In the real world, the two dimensions of national identity are often mixed and sometimes confused: the shared sense of common history, religion, language, symbols and values that defines the identity of individuals and binds them together (ethnicity), and the set of ideas that defines the identity of the individuals who join together to form a state and a government that protects their rights and furthers their interests (citizenship). However, which of these two dimensions is emphasized as most important makes a very big difference in how people think about their national identity. Americans, for instance, mostly think of national identity as equal to or the same as citizenship. In Eastern Europe, people mostly think of nationality in terms of ethnicity.

The trend of modern European history, to unify the ethnic and civic dimensions of national identity in order to make ethnicity and citizenship the same thing, is what is often referred to as the positive, unifying force of nationalism. The formation of the modern nation-state was based on the idea of a shared ethnic identity, a national language, and a common culture.

The negative and destructive force of nationalism can be seen when not all citizens consider themselves to be members of the same nation, although they belong to the same state. In this case, the nation-state may attempt to impose policies and values intended to assimilate the non-national or the sub-national members into the dominant national mold. In extreme cases, social groups identified as non-national will be excluded, isolated, expelled, or destroyed. This extreme form of nationalism found its most notorious expression in German Nazism, which, linked to a virulent form of racism, led to the genocide of the European Jews and Gypsies. It is also at the roots of the "ethnic cleansing" campaigns throughout the former Yugoslavia, in particular in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The majority of Western European states have followed a process of national integration or consolidation by a dominant nation. The dominant nation has been able to either create for itself or to take control of the state apparatus, subordinating other nations in the process. In Britain, for example, the so-called Celtic fringe, composed of the Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish, was thus subordinated to the dominant and majority English nation. The French nation established its dominance over the Bretons, the Corsicans, and the Alsatians. In Spain, Basques, Catalans, and other regional and linguistic groups were subordinated politically to the Spanish state. Still questioning the traditional Spanish-dominated model of nation-state, these groups have obtained regional autonomy in the post-Franco Spanish democratic constitution.

In Eastern and Central Europe, where the borders, the governments, and even the names of countries have changed countless times, people more-or-less stayed put, and the countries moved. New states were organized as a result of the dissolution of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires according to the nationality principle, but many of them included sizable national minorities. Other states, such as the former Yugoslavia,

lesson one, part two

were established as multinational states. Economic uncertainty and the presence of multiple nationalities or sizable national minorities within the countries of Central Europe, particularly when such minorities identify with the national majority in neighboring countries, is a volatile mix. People who belonged to nations that had states elsewhere, generally obtained cultural rights as minorities in several countries of Central and Eastern Europe (the largest such groups were ethnic Albanians and Hungarians, but there were many others such as Bulgarians, Turks, Romanians, and Italians). But many individuals who belonged to ethnic minorities without any national status (such as the semi-nomadic Romany and Vlachs) did not have such rights. The mixture of nationalities within states has created many serious issues for the people of Eastern Europe.³

Key Terms & Concepts

To better understand each of the activities in this curriculum unit, it is important that students be able to recognize certain terms and concepts. Keep in mind that many of these concepts and terms are filled with enormous complexities, and any short definition or description cannot take into account all the different aspects of these concepts. For instance, as with so many other "isms," scholars from different disciplines disagree on a definition of nationalism.



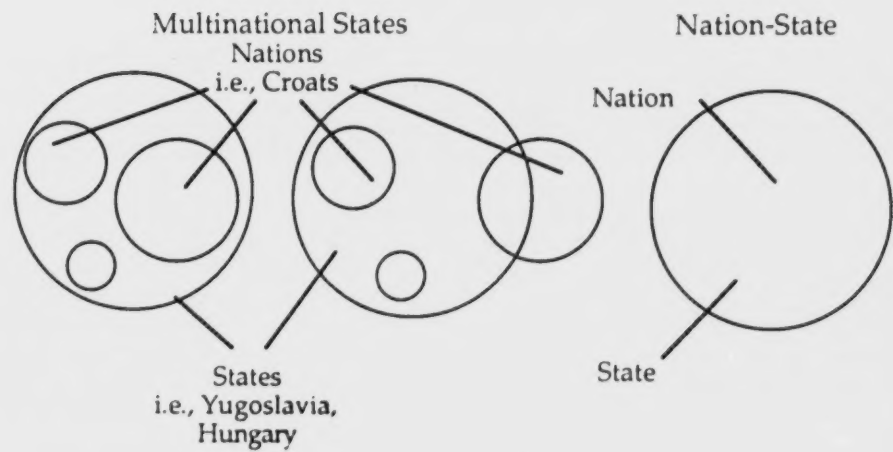
1. Divide the class into groups of four. Distribute a copy of Handout 1I, *Key Terms & Concepts*, to each student.
2. Ask students to brainstorm and discuss the meanings of the terms. Tell them to write definitions for each term.
3. Distribute a copy of Handout 1J, *Key Terms & Concepts—Answer Key*, to each student and ask the students to compare the definitions they reached in the brainstorming period with those listed on Handout 1I.
4. Ask students to consider other factors in their definitions. Be sure to include additional dimensions students may propose.
5. Ask students to draw a Venn Diagram (described below) that best describes both a Multinational State and a Nation-State, showing the relationship between a state and a nation. Ask them to label the state and political boundaries on the diagram and compare the diagram to the political geography of Yugoslavia.

Venn Diagrams: Graphic modeling borrowed from the field of mathematics offers a way for students to diagram and discuss relationships between and among groups. Some Venn diagrams are shown below:



6. Conclude this portion of Lesson One by distributing a copy of Handout 1K, *Journal* to each student.

lesson one, part two



handout 1a

A CARTOONIST'S PERSPECTIVE (1 of 3)

Cartoon A⁴



"I don't want you to leave me, my darling!"

Cartoon B⁵

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A CARTOONIST'S PERSPECTIVE (2 of 3)

Cartoon C⁶



Cartoon D⁷

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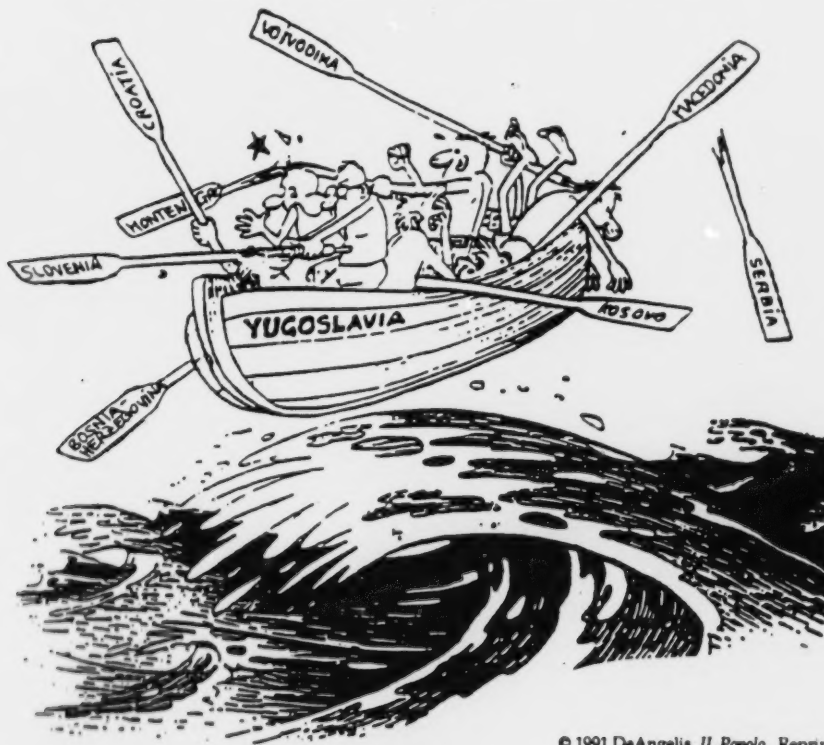


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handout 1a

A CARTOONIST'S PERSPECTIVE (3 of 3)

Cartoon E⁸



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Cartoon F⁹

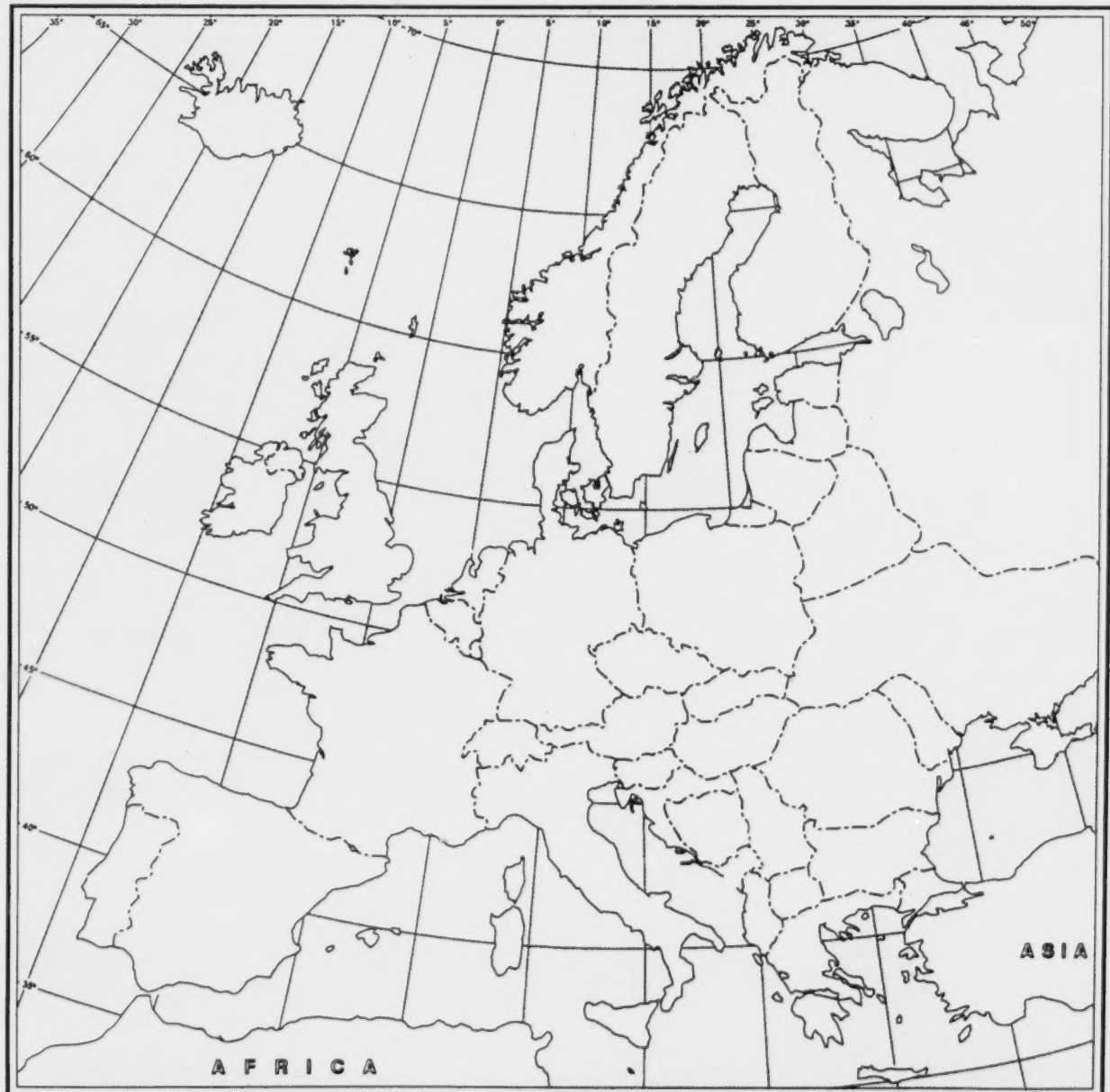


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POST-COLD WAR EUROPE

On the map below, indicate as many of the following countries as possible:

Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Byelarus, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Moldova, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, Yugoslavia.



handout 1c

POST-COLD WAR EUROPE—ANSWER KEY



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

26

EUROPE PRE-1989



handout 1 e

ETHNIC MAP OF EUROPE



ETHNIC MAP OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA¹⁰

THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES AND THE "NEW" YUGOSLAVIA

Slovenia was one of the "proposed nations" of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After Slovenia became a republic of Yugoslavia in 1918, it became one of the most prosperous. When a decided independence in 1991, there was little violence due to its heterogeneous population of about 10% Slovene, 10% Italian, 10% Croat, and 10% Hungarian. It has close ties to Austria.

Croatia - In 1102 Croatia, an independent nation of Slavic people, merged with Hungary. It became part of Yugoslavia in 1918. In June 1991 it declared independence, but 10,000 + people were killed in fighting against Serbian Yugoslavia. The European Community recognized its independence in 1992.

Montenegro - Once part of the Serbian Empire, this former republic of Yugoslavia was ruled for centuries by Catholic theocracy. It remained autonomous during the Ottoman period (Muslim rule). Today, Montenegro is still part of Yugoslavia but only 10% of the population are Serbs. Many ethnic Montenegrins also ally themselves with Serbia.

Yugoslavia - What is left of Yugoslavia consists of the republics of Montenegro and Serbia. Serbian forces have been violently opposed to the declaration of independence by Croatia and Bosnia. The Serbs, predominantly Orthodox Christians, were a major force in the establishment of Pan-Slavism which led to the assassination of Austria's archduke which led to World War I.



Bosnia-Herzegovina - This area was ruled by the Romans, the Hungarians and the Ottoman Turks (Muslims). What of Bosnia reverted to Islam during the 15th century. In 1908 it was annexed as part of Austria-Hungary. After World War I it was part of Serbia and then later Yugoslavia. When Yugoslavia began to break up in the 1990s, ethnic Muslims (51%) and Croats (31%) rebelled for independence. Serbs (17%) wanted the region's return to Serbia. (17%) resisted the return and threatened the independence. Fighting over independence broke out following the annexation from Yugoslavia. The war has been particularly brutal in the Muslim Bosnians.

Macedonia - The former Yugoslavian republic is 2/3 Orthodox Christian Slavs, but also has a large population of Muslims, Albanians, Turks and Roma. Serbian Macedonia became part of Yugoslavia in 1946 but announced independence in 1991. Macedonians fear Serbian intentions as well as those of Bulgaria and Greece that have ethnic claims on its territory.

Vojvodina and Kosovo - Both are autonomous regions within Serbia. The autonomous region of Kosovo is composed of 90% Muslim Albanians. This region is dirt poor but mineral rich. The Serbian government has suppressed the Albanian language, education, and employment. Albania and Turkey have threatened to intervene if conditions do not improve in the region. Vojvodina consists predominantly of Serbs and Croats but contains a large minority of Hungarians.

THE REPUBLICS OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA¹¹

The Republics of the Former Yugoslavia				
Republic	Population (in millions)	Area (Sq. miles)	Major Ethnic Groups	Major Religions
Bosnia-Herzegovina	4.37	51,130	Muslims, 44% Serbs, 32% Croats, 18%	Islam, Serbian Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism
Croatia	4.76	56,538	Croats, 78% Serbs, 12%	Roman Catholicism, Serbian Eastern Orthodoxy
Macedonia	2.04	25,713	Macedonians, 65% Albanians, 21% Turks, 5%	Macedonian Eastern Orthodoxy, Islam
Montenegro	0.60	13,812	Montenegrins, 62% Muslims, 15% Serbs, 9%	Serbian Eastern Orthodoxy, Islam
Serbia	9.80	88,361	Serbs, 66% Albanians, 17% Hungarians, 4% Muslims, 2%	Serbian Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, Islam
Slovenia	1.90	20,251	Slovenes, 2% Croats, 3% Serbs, 2%	Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Serbian Eastern Orthodoxy

handout 1i

KEY TERMS & CONCEPTS

Terms & Concepts	Definition
Nation (<i>define and name an example</i>)	
State (<i>define and name an example</i>)	
Citizen	
Plural Society	
Self-determination	
Separatism	

KEY TERMS & CONCEPTS—ANSWER KEY

Terms & Concepts	Definition
Nation	Nations should not be confused with states. A nation is a group of people who share a <i>common history, religion, language, activities, symbols, and/or values</i> . Unlike ethnic groups, nations have expressed and acquired some sort of <i>political (national) consciousness</i> . Native American tribes are considered nations, even in the absence of a typical state structure or identifiable state borders. In Eastern Europe, many different nations were divided when artificial borders were drawn to create new states. Others were artificially brought together. Yugoslavia, for instance, consisted of many different nations, such as the Croat nation and the Serb nation.
State	States are political and legal entities that <i>exercise sovereignty</i> over a specific territory and wield power over its inhabitants. Most states are <i>multinational</i> . Although the opening phrase of the preamble of the U.N. Charter refers to the "peoples of the United Nations," the United Nations is an association of states, not of nations or peoples. California and New York are federal "states," which means that they are part of a federal government that retains the final authority, functioning as a sovereign state.
Citizen	A citizen is a person owing allegiance to and entitled to the protection and the rights and privileges of a sovereign state.
Plural Society	A plural society is one where all of the various nationalities in a multinational state are allowed to develop separately while interacting to perform certain tasks together. That is, they may share skills and trade with each other under a common government, which guarantees each group its separate cultural development.
Self-determination	Self-determination is the right of a nation to have its own state, independent from foreign domination, in which it can freely determine its political status and pursue its economic, social, and cultural development.
Separatism	Separatism involves the demand by a specific group—usually a nation—that no longer wants to be part of a particular state. This group seeks to develop independently, which it believes can only be ensured outside the dominant cultural context and in a state of its own.

handout 1k

JOURNAL

Comment on the following questions:

- What are the disadvantages/advantages of a multinational federation/state?
- How far may a minority group go in preserving its traditions without diminishing unity?
- If you were to structure the social and political organization of a multinational federation, what model would you use?

[illegible]

Lesson Two

THE ROAD TO SARAJEVO



What events and motivations lead to the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and what consequences resulted?

Introduction

This lesson uses a Readers' Theater to introduce students to events in Central and Eastern Europe spanning the period from 1876 to 1918. The focus is the assassination of the heir to the throne of the Austrian monarchy, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and motivations behind his murder. The concept of nationalism and an overview of the varieties of nationalism that competed among the different ethnic groups in Yugoslavia is also introduced. Information preceding the assassination helps place the event in historical and political context. World War I, a direct result of the happenings in Sarajevo, is also briefly touched upon.

This lesson was designed to take one to two class periods. Giving students time to read through their parts beforehand (preferably the night before) will facilitate preparedness. The performance requires no staging directions. A debriefing session at the end of the lesson directs questions at each character.

Objectives

- to describe the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and gather insight into the motivations of the assassins
- to explore the concepts of nationalism and self-determination as a recurring theme, using Bosnia-Herzegovina as a focal point
- to present a Readers' Theater, which assigns students read-only roles

Connection to the History and Social Science Curriculum

This lesson can be used in conjunction with the themes of nationalism, World War I, or unresolved problems of the modern world.

Time

We recommend two class periods. Ideally, the Readers' Theater and the debriefing should not be interrupted by a break.

Materials

- Handout 2A, *The Road to Sarajevo: A Readers' Theater*, one copy per student
- Handout 2B, *Name Tags*, see procedures • Slides and slide projector

Lesson two

About Readers' Theater



Readers' Theater is a dramatization technique used to bring a text, or texts, to life. A hybrid of performance and reading aloud, Readers' Theater assigns roles to students based on the characters in the text. Those who do not have a part observe from the audience. The goal of the Readers' Theater is not to act out a script, but to engage students in the text through the roles, choices, issues, and decisions faced by each particular character. The performance itself does not have to involve props and staging, though either can be used to enhance the dramatic effect.

Though practice will ultimately point out what works best according to your own teaching environment, there are several pointers you should keep in mind when using any Readers' Theater in the classroom. Familiarize yourself with these before beginning:

- Each student needs his/her own copy of the entire script, which should be stapled in the upper left-hand corner for easy use. Students hold their scripts in front of them as they would a songbook while singing.
- You have the choice of dividing up the class into groups and giving each the opportunity to create and perform the text, or of assigning roles and staging only one performance.
- Situate the student readers in such a way as to encourage interaction between them. Confrontations, conflicts, and other dramatic parts of the text will work better if the students reading the parts address each other or interact in some other way. Encourage students to be creative!
- Students without assigned roles can constitute the audience. They should also be given a copy of the script. However, and this is important, the performance will be more successful if everyone has already read the text. In this way, the audience pays particular attention to the performance. When the performance ends, the audience can help discuss and debrief the Readers' Theater.
- When debriefing the Readers' Theater, try to keep the students in character. As long as students pretend to be the characters in the text, they will have different answers to the questions. We have provided some questions as a starting point.
- You can make your own Readers' Theater out of any text that can be spoken, but the best ones will be those containing multiple voices, narrative tension, and even action. Use more than one text if you wish, splicing together books with editorials, interviews, etc., to make an educational and interesting Readers' Theater.
- Resist rewording the original. Choose texts that are relatively easy to read aloud without undue meddling or editing. Readers' Theater gives you the opportunity to use primary source reading material; respect the author's own words when possible.

- You are encouraged to divide up the text according to its characters and to insert imaginary narrators where helpful. (The part of narrator can be applied to parts of the text that describe the scene.)

Readers' Theater—Preparation

The following Readers' Theater will give students an opportunity to learn about some of the events and motivations that led to the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the consequences that resulted from it. A number of political documents, magazine and newspaper articles, speeches, interviews, and historical accounts have been selected to create a 35-45 minute dramatization. Quotation marks have been used to indicate the primary source quotes and excerpts. The facts, the dates, and the events are accurate, and all the characters are real.



Several slides have been incorporated into the Readers' Theater. The slides will be introduced by the *Researcher* throughout the Readers' Theater. To find the best position for the slide projector, you might want to look at the *Stage Instructions*.

Suggested Procedures

- Tell students they will do a Readers' Theater on the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo 1914. Tell them that a Readers' Theater consists of students reading and acting the parts of historical characters. Success depends solely upon student efforts and their level of interest. Though rehearsal is not necessary, reading will proceed more smoothly if they rehearse. The students may later wish to perform it again with props, action, and stage directions before an audience.
- Give each student one copy of the Handout 2A, *The Road to Sarajevo: A Readers' Theater*. Assign roles using the name tags from Handout 2B, *Name Tags*, or let students choose their parts. See the character list at the beginning of Handout 2A for a complete listing of characters. There are 30 named parts. Depending upon class size, you might want to double up some of the roles or have some students be the audience. If you double up the roles, the two students assigned to the part should divide the script into a first and second half. The best roles to split are the Historians, Archduke Ferdinand, and Gavrilo Princip. If some students are assigned to be the audience, tell them that they will play an important role during the debriefing stage.
- Once students have been assigned their roles, position them in the classroom to give the presentation dramatic effect. The character list can help you decide where to position students.
- Since the Readers' Theater uses many primary source quotes and excerpts, you might want to explain some of the words and expressions underlined throughout the text.



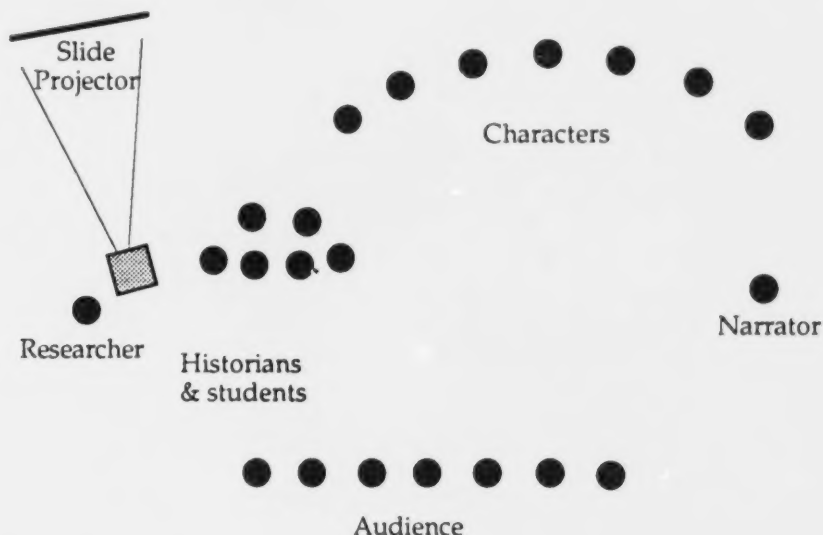
lesson two



Stage Instructions

If you have a video camera in your class room, tape the performance. Encourage your students to be creative in their roles.

- To enhance dramatic effect, you might want to group the characters as follows:



- If there is an audience students should stand in a rough semicircle.
- Create additional labels or flags to easily identify each character.
- Allow students 5 minutes to look over their lines. Before each scene, students might want to introduce their characters so that the performance is easy to follow.

Students should

- be ready to speak when it is their turn
- speak slowly and articulately, but with emotion and expression.
- make eye contact with other readers or the audience

Debriefing

- With students still in character, debrief them following the Readers' Theater. We recommend at least 20 minutes for the debriefing. Ask the student performers questions (some are suggested below), and encourage others to offer their opinions. Engage the audience, if there was one, in the discussion.

General Questions:

- Did you think that a world war would erupt in the wake of the assassination?
- How might Austria-Hungary's multiethnic nature have been advantageous? disadvantageous?
- What does the concept of nationalism mean to you? Where does nationalism come from?

Archduke Rainer

- Why did the proposed marriage of Archduke Ferdinand and Sophie Chotek dismay you so?

Sophie Chotek

- Why did the Austrian court never fully accept you? How did you feel about that?

Archduke Franz Ferdinand

- What was it like to marry someone you loved dearly and then have to live with her being treated as someone of the lower class?
- What were your opinions about nationalism in general, and South Slav nationalism in particular?

Gavrilo Princip

- Did the goal of self-determination justify assassination as a means to achieve it? Was there another way for achieving independence?
- Can you imagine other ways of achieving your goal of a united Yugoslavia?

Popovic

- What feelings and thoughts went through your head when you first heard the bomb explode? What did you think and feel later in the day when you learned that the Archduke had been fatally shot?

New York Times Reporter:

- How did you feel when you learned that the war had ended?

Apis:

- Describe your attitude and feelings towards Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia.
- Why did you prefer terrorist activities to propaganda efforts?

Russian Council Member:

- What was unacceptable about Austria-Hungary's ultimatum to Serbia?

Woodrow Wilson:

- Did your notion of self-determination apply to all people in every country or only select ones?

lesson two

- What did you have in mind when you uttered the principle of self-determination?
- How did you see the future of Europe taking shape once the war ended?
- How did you view the assassination?

Historians

- What did you learn by telling this story?
- What were some of the (dis)advantages for a multiethnic state like Austria-Hungary?
- What does the concept of nationalism mean to you?
- Where do you think nationalism comes from?
- How does the question of Nationalism in the beginning of this century relate to current events in the former Yugoslavia?
- How would you mediate between the different viewpoints of nationalism that existed in the Balkans around the time of the assassination?
- What were the goals of the different ethnic groups?
- How did the visions of a future state differ?

Readers' Theater Questions

- Was a Readers' Theater a good way to present the material?
 - What made the greatest impact on you?
 - Would any country be dissatisfied with the facts and story line as presented in this Readers' Theater?
2. Feel free to repeat the Readers' Theater or modify it in the future. Possible adaptations include:
- Ask students to switch parts (for example Archduke Ferdinand and Gavrilo Princip). Did they learn anything new by switching?
 - Have students rewrite or add to parts of the Readers' Theater. What do they choose to change and why?
 - Ask the students who were in the audience to answer the questions put to individual characters.



3. Have students write a journal entry (suggested length: 1-2 pages minimum).

Perspectives

- You are a 17-year-old Bosnian student.
- You are a member of the Austrian nobility
- You are the head of a major country (a Great Power, United States, or Russia).

lesson two

Questions

- How do you feel about the assassination of the Archduke?
- What is the argument for and against Bosnian independence from the Austrian empire and the right to self-determination?



The following slides are used in the Readers' Theater:

- #1: Painting showing participants of the Berlin Congress (*Der Berliner Kongreß 1878. Im Festsale des Rathauses in Berlin. Mit Genehmigung der Photographischen Gesellschaft in Berlin*).
- #2: Map showing Europe with the Two-Alliance System before World War I.
- #3: Seriocomic map of Europe during the early 1900s. "Hark, hark, the dogs do bark," depicting Europe with the "dogs of war" unleashed upon them.
- #4: Seriocomic map of Europe during the early 1900s. "Angling in Troubled Water," showing a map of Europe with drawings illustrating the various countries with people depicting national traits.
- #5: Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie in a car shortly before the assassination.
- #6: Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Sophie leaving the Town Hall in Sarajevo.
- #7: Romantic picture of the assassination at Sarajevo (appeared on front pages of several French newspapers).
- #8: Gavrilo Princip being captured after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand.
- #9: Front Page of the *New York Times*, June 29, 1914.
- #10: A scene from the courtroom.

handout 2a

THE ROAD TO SARAJEVO: A READERS' THEATER

LIST OF CHARACTERS

General	Narrator Historians (3) Researcher Students (3)
Austria	Archduke Rainer: a member of the Habsburg nobility Archduke Franz Ferdinand: heir to the Austrian throne Sophie Chotek: wife of Archduke Franz Ferdinand Archduchess Zita: Archduke Ferdinand's niece Count Harrach: aide to the Archduke Leo Pfeffer: presiding judge over the trial of the conspirators Berchtold: foreign affairs minister of Austria Von Giesl: ambassador to Serbia Austrian Government Official
Serbia	Col. Dragutin Dimitrijevic, nicknamed <i>Apis</i> : Serbian Army officer and member of the Black Hand, a revolutionary group Major Tankosic: another member of the Black Hand Serbian Government Official Member of a Serbian National Group
Bosnia	Gavrilo Princip: the assassin—a Serbian student and a member of the secret nationalist movement in Bosnia, 'Young Bosnians', which hoped for the liberation of Bosnia-Herzegovina Cvjetko Popovic: one of the student conspirators Cabrinovic: another conspirator Mayor of Sarajevo Korosec: a Slavic member of Austria-Hungary's Parliament
Russia	Russian Council of Ministers Member
United States of America	<i>New York Times</i> reporter Woodrow Wilson: president of the United States
Germany	William II, emperor of Germany

INTRODUCTION

Narrator Imagine Europe during the late years of the 1800s. There were three major conditions that created tensions throughout the continent. Do you remember what these conditions were? [Pause]

Well, first it was the economic competition for markets. Until 1870, Britain was the leading industrial country in the world. But soon after that, the newly united Germany rapidly industrialized and began to compete successfully with British producers.

The second major condition that created tensions was Europe's Two Alliance System. The states of Europe had engaged in balance-of-power politics since the 16th century. Whenever one country gained too much influence in European affairs, other countries formed alliances against it. By the early 1900s, the major powers of Europe were set against one another in two alliance systems. And there was no third, "outside," party that which could play the role of balancer.

Finally, the third major condition was the increase of nationalistic feelings throughout Europe. Let's visit a history seminar and listen to what the historians, the researcher, and the students are discussing.

**PART ONE: HISTORIANS DISCUSS THE POLITICAL
SITUATION OF EUROPE IN THE 1900S AND THE EVENTS
THAT LED TO JUNE 28, 1914**

Historian 1 Nationalism was becoming the dominant political and spiritual force in European life in the last part of the 19th century. Nationalistic feelings were especially intense in the Balkan Peninsula, where a mosaic of different nationalities, each one with its own history and traditions, threatened the Ottoman, Austrian, and Russian empires.

Student 1 The concepts of *nation*, *state*, and *nationalism* still confuse me. What exactly do you mean by *nationalism* and *nationalistic feelings*?

Historian 2 When you talk about nationalism you really need to look at the concept of *nation*. The concept of nation corresponds to the human need for belonging, for forming groups or communities, and identifying with them. Everyone has the need to belong somewhere, to call someplace "home". A *nation* is a group of people who share a common history, religion, language, activities, symbols, and/or values. The mix of these powerful elements varies from case-to-case. And *nationalism* involves a desire to build one's own nation and to increase its power relative to others.

Student 2 This definition of nation and nationalism sounds too positive to me. When I think of nationalism, I almost always have negative feelings.

Historian 3 Well, nationalism has a tremendous potential to act both as a positive and a negative force. It can be a force for unity, or a force for division. And

handout 2a

the concept of nation and the need for identity and support quite often result in exclusion of anything different or foreign, in an attitude of us-versus-them.

- Student 3** So when you talk about nationalism becoming the dominant political and spiritual force in European life, what you mean is that all these different nationalities within the various empires developed a strong desire for freedom from foreign rule, for unification of all those of a similar culture, and for self-determination within their own state.
- Historian 1** Exactly! And these nationalistic feelings—the desire for independence—was awakened by a new cultural orientation in the early 19th century, romanticism. Romantic writers, for instance, examined the language, literature, and folkways of their people, and by doing so, they kindled a sense of national pride in their compatriots. The emphasis on the unique culture of a people stimulated national consciousness especially among Germans and the various Slavic peoples who lived under foreign rule. It was only a small step from cultural nationalism to the political nationalism that called for freedom from foreign rule, for unification, and for statehood.
- Narrator** Let me interrupt this very interesting discussion. We could probably listen to the historians and their students for many hours, talking about such complex concepts as nation, state, and nationalism. These are, of course, very important concepts if one wants to understand the events that led to the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo and eventually to World War I. But at this point I would like to move on and look at what actually happened in Eastern Europe between 1850 and 1914. Let's revisit the history seminar.
- Student 1** I have heard the Balkans called a "powder keg." What exactly is meant by that expression?
- Historian 2** Nowhere was the political situation during the late 1800s more tense than on the Balkan Peninsula. With good reason this area was called the "powder keg" of Europe. For nearly 100 years, many Balkan nationalities had been trying to free themselves from the Ottoman Empire. And many of the nationalities of the Austrian Empire had been fighting unsuccessfully to gain their independence.
- Student 2** And what was Russia's role during that time period?
- Historian 3** The Russians were Slavs, part of the same language family as some of the nationalities in the Balkans. They declared themselves protectors of the oppressed Slavic people under the Ottoman Empire. But Russia was also interested in access to the warm-water ports of the Mediterranean Sea through the Bosphorus, which was controlled by the Turks.
- Historian 1** As we have mentioned before, the Austrian Empire was made up of many diverse groups or nationalities. In the first half of the 19th century, the Germans, constituting less than one-quarter of the population, were the dominant national group in the empire. But Magyars, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Rumanians, Italians, and others were increasingly experiencing national self-awareness. With the coming of nationalism in

- the 19th century, this diversity often proved annoying to the Austrian government. As an Austrian Government official at that time put it:
- Austrian Government Official "The Austrian Empire was a broken pot held together with a piece of wire. It might do duty as long as it was treated with due care, but woe if it were exposed to too many hard knocks or got some kick or other. Then it would be liable to fall to pieces."
- Student 3 Sometimes the Austrian Empire is referred to as the Austro-Hungarian Empire or Austria-Hungary. What is the difference?
- Historian 2 Because of continued Hungarian opposition to Austrian rule and after demands for greater autonomy within the empire, the Austrian emperor Franz Josef agreed to create a Dual Monarchy. Although the Dual Monarchy allowed the Hungarians limited self-government, other minority nationalities still had no political power.
- Student 1 What happened to the Ottoman Empire during that period?
- Historian 3 The Ottoman Empire weakened throughout the 19th century due to economic decline and nationalistic forces, and several Balkan groups broke away. By the early 1900s, these breakaway groups had formed a half-dozen new states—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia.
- Student 2 Were these new states the results of the Berlin Congress?
- Historian 1 Exactly! The Congress, which was attended by all the Great Powers, including Russia, also gave Austria-Hungary the right to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the agreement, Austria-Hungary could not annex Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Researcher (showing slide #1) This slide shows the representatives of the Great Powers at the Congress of Berlin in 1878.
- Student 3 Why did Russia and Austria-Hungary almost go to war in 1908?
- Historian 2 In that year, Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, two Balkan areas with large Slavic populations. Serbian officials, who had hoped to take over the two provinces themselves, were outraged. Russia offered Serbia full support, but the Russian threat promised hollow.
- Researcher (showing slide #2) This map shows Europe before World War I. You can clearly see Europe's Two Alliance System.
- Researcher (showing slides #3 and #4) The following two slides show seriocomic maps of Europe during the early 1900s. The first one, titled "Hark, Hark, the Dogs Do Bark," depicts Europe with the "dogs of war" unleashed upon it. The second one, titled "Angling in Troubled Water," shows a map of Europe with drawings illustrating national traits of the various countries.

handout 2a

PART TWO: THE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND IN SARAJEVO ON JUNE 28, 1914, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

- Narrator By itself, the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand could never have started a world war. However, tensions had been building up in Europe for more than 50 years. The assassination in Sarajevo was merely the last step on a long road to war, a road down which Europe had been drifting for decades.
- Historian 3 By 1914, rival alliances, nationalism, imperialism, and an arms race had brought Europe to the brink of war. All that was needed was a spark to light the fuse. The spark came with the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, the capital of the Austrian province of Bosnia, on June 28, 1914.
- Historian 1 A number of organizations existed in the Balkan territories, each supporting different concepts of nationalism. Most groups were secret, because their goals brought them into conflict with Austro-Hungarian rule. Two of these groups were involved in the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand. One was a right-wing military Serbian group called Ujedinjenje ili Smrt (Union or Death), known as the Black Hand to their enemies. One of their outspoken leaders was a man named Dragutin Dimitrijevic, nicknamed Apis.
- Apis "This organization was created in order to realize the national idea, the unification of all Serbs. This organization prefers terrorist action to cultural activities; it will therefore remain secret." Its secret oath is as follows:
- Tankosic "I, [Major Tankosic], becoming a member of the organization [Union or Death], swear by the sun which is shining on me, by the earth which is feeding me, by God, by the blood of my ancestors, by my honor, and my life, that from this moment until my death, I will serve faithfully the causes of this organization and will always be ready to undergo any sacrifices for it."
- Historian 2 The group directly responsible for the Archduke's death was a left-wing collection of students and intellectuals who called themselves Mlada Bosna or Young Bosnians.
- Tankosic "Dragutin, there are several Bosnian youths who are pestering me. These kids want at any cost to perform some "great deed." They have heard that Franz Ferdinand will come to Bosnia for [military] maneuvers and have begged me to let them go there. What do you say? . . . I have told them they cannot go, but they give me no peace."
- Historian 3 Political assassinations occurred quite often during this time period. The Young Bosnians looked up to one youth, Bogdan Zerafic and his failed attempt to kill the Austrian appointed governor of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Zerafic's story was written in a pamphlet entitled "Death of a Hero."

- Member of a Serbian National Group "Despite all its enslavement, the Serbian people are showing signs of life. It is expressed by the young Serbians who are effecting a spiritual revolution. There exist many of these young men who sacrifice their own life for a common goal. They are preaching a revolution of changed, new notions . . . the ethic of dying for an idea, for freedom. For this enlightened idea the blood of Bogdan Zerajic was spilled on the streets of Sarajevo."
- Popovic "We read this pamphlet at meetings. We knew whole passages by heart. The book had completely succeeded in its intention 'to instigate a revolution in the souls and minds of the young Serbs!'. These were not just words for us but a program. Each one of us had reached a decision to follow Zerajic"
- Narrator June 28, 1914, was a hot, sultry day in Sarajevo. Despite the heat, crowds had jammed the streets for hours. They were hoping to catch a glimpse of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary. As nephew of the aged Emperor Franz Josef, Franz Ferdinand expected to rule Austria-Hungary soon.
- Student 1 Was everyone in Sarajevo looking forward to this royal visit?
- Historian 1 Of course not! The majority of Bosnians were Serbs, a Slavic people, and many wanted Bosnia to be part of Serbia, a neighboring Slavic country, instead of a province in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
- Student 2 So why did the Archduke decide to visit Sarajevo?
- Historian 2 The Archduke had decided to go to Sarajevo despite warnings that the situation there was unfavorable to the heir of the Austro-Hungarian empire. His position as commander of the Imperial forces provided an official reason for visiting the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Equally important, though, was the knowledge that his wife, who was to accompany him, would be treated with the proper respect due to the wife of the heir to the throne.
- Student 3 What do you mean by "she would be treated with proper respect?"
- Historian 3 Archduke Ferdinand fell in love and eventually married Countess Sophie Chotek, a woman from Bohemia [a part of what is now the Czech Republic]. She was of noble birth, but a member of the minor nobility. The marriage caused an uproar because most of the Royal Court viewed her as unfit to be Franz's bride because she was of too common an origin. The Emperor and others attempted to dissuade him, but Ferdinand never wavered.
- Archduke Rainer "Your case, because of your position, is quite different from that of any previous archduke. They stepped into the background after concluding morganatic marriages. But you, the first in line, are not prepared to renounce your right to succeed. H.M. (His Majesty), and especially you, carry this responsibility for the entire empire. Reflect carefully on the consequences of the steps you propose to take. For these reasons it is not possible for me to support your wishes."

handout 2a

- Ferdinand "I turn again to your Majesty's (Franz Joseph's) fatherly heart with the most pressing of pleas to fulfill for me that deepest and dearest of my wishes, on which depends the whole of my future existence, my happiness, my peace and my contentment. I can only say again that my desire to marry the Countess does not spring from a passing mood, but flows from the profoundest attachment, tested by many years of suffering."
- Historian 1 When Ferdinand married Sophie he had to take an oath that she and any children they might have were disinherited from ever seeking the throne. They had to renounce the rights normally associated with the royal family. Undeterred, four years after his wedding Franz reaffirmed his love.
- Ferdinand "By far the cleverest thing I ever did in my life was to marry my Sophie. She is everything for me...in a word, my whole happiness."
- Historian 2 But the Archduke was troubled at the lack of respect shown to his wife because of her common background. She was not allowed to be seated at the same dinner table on state occasions or to sit next to him if they went to a theater performance. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was too caught up in issues of protocol to welcome Sophie warmly. But abroad, other countries were only too happy to give Sophie the respect due her.
- Historian 3 The Emperor, responsible for bestowing titles, eventually allowed Sophie to be shown full military honors as the wife of the Inspector General (or Commander in Chief). The visit to Sarajevo was in part an opportunity to escape Vienna and allow Sophie to receive the respect she deserved. But as the time drew near when Franz Ferdinand and Sophie were to depart for Sarajevo, the Archduke became reluctant and went to talk to the Emperor. As his niece recalls:
- Archduchess Zita "The Archduke used the excuse of the great heat in Bosnia as a reason for getting out of attending the maneuvers. But on this occasion...he failed. While leaving the final decision to him, the Emperor made it quite clear that he desired the Archduke to go; such a wish...amounted to an order."
- Narrator The royal train arrived in Sarajevo shortly before 10 a.m. An honor guard of Austrian troops stood at attention while the Archduke and his wife, Sophie, got into the open car that would take them to the official welcoming ceremonies at the town hall. A six-car motorcade left the station, led by the mayor of Sarajevo. The royal couple smiled and waved while people cheered and threw flowers to them. This day carried symbolic weight for the Serbs, who considered it their national day ever since the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. The streets were lined with the citizens of Sarajevo. Some were supporters of the monarchy, while others detested it.
- Researcher (showing slides #5 and #6) The following slides show the royal couple on their way to City Hall.

- Popovic "Suddenly the crowd started to murmur, and everybody pushed to the front lines on the edge of the pavement. The noise of the cars reached my ears, and the crowd started to shout: 'He's coming'. The continuous cheers, 'Long may he live! Long may he live!' told me that the heir apparent was approaching. At this moment the second car passed, and immediately afterward a bomb exploded."
- Čabrinovic "I aimed specifically at the Archduke, in order to kill him, because he...is an enemy of the Slavs in general but especially of the Serbs."
- Narrator The Archduke had not been wounded. The bomb struck his upraised arm and bounced off, exploding in the street. The blast injured a dozen people and sent a dark cloud of smoke into the sky.
- Ferdinand "The fellow must be insane. Gentlemen, let us proceed with our program."
- Narrator After a brief pause, the motorcade continued at top speed toward the Town Hall where the mayor was to read an official greeting. Although unhurt, the Archduke was furious.
- Ferdinand "Mr. Mayor, one comes here for a visit and is received with bombs! It's scandalous! All right, now you may speak."
- Mayor "Your Imperial and Royal Highness! Our hearts are filled with joy over your most gracious visit...and I consider myself happy that Your Highness can read in our faces the feelings of our love and devotion, of our unshakable loyalty, and of our obedience. All the citizens of the capital city of Sarajevo find that their souls are filled with happiness and they most enthusiastically greet Your Highness' most illustrious visit with the most cordial of welcomes."
- Ferdinand "I thank you cordially, Mr. Mayor, for the resounding ovations with which the population received me and my wife, the more so since I see in them an expression of pleasure over the failure of the assassination attempt."
- Narrator The Archduke decided to continue with the schedule of events. The return route had been changed following the assassination attempt. This information, though, was not passed on to the drivers of the cars. As the procession headed back through the streets of Sarajevo, the first car with the mayor of Sarajevo followed the original plan and turned onto Franz Joseph Street instead of continuing straight.
- Mayor "You've gone the wrong way!"
- Narrator It was too late. Standing at this intersection, no more than two steps from the Archduke, was Gavrilo Princip.
- Princip "When the second car arrived, I recognized the Heir Apparent. But as I saw that a lady was sitting next to him, I reflected for a moment whether I

handout 2a

should shoot or not. At the same moment I was filled with a peculiar feeling, and I aimed at the Heir Apparent from the pavement."

Count Harrach "As the car quickly reversed, a thin stream of blood spurted from his Highness' mouth...the Duchess cried out to him..."

Sophie "In heaven's name, what has happened to you?"

Count Harrach "I had no idea that she, too, was hit and thought she had simply fainted with fright. Then I heard His Imperial Highness say,"

Ferdinand "Sophie, Sophie, don't die. Live for the children!"

Harrach "At that I seized the Archduke by the collar of his uniform...and asked him if he was in great pain."

Ferdinand "It's nothing...it's nothing...it's nothing...."

Narrator By the time the Archduke and Duchess arrived at the hospital, it was too late for the doctors to help them.

Researcher (showing slides #7 and #8) The first slide shows a painting of the assassination. Note the romantic tone of the painting. The second slide shows Gavrilo Princip being captured after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand.

Historian 1 News of the assassination spread quickly across Europe. People everywhere were horrified, yet not really surprised. After all, there had been more than 40 assassinations of political leaders—kings, generals, prime ministers, presidents—between 1900 and 1914.

Historian 2 Yet the assassination in Sarajevo was different from the others. It started a chain of events that, within only five weeks, dragged almost all the countries of Europe into war. A reporter from the *New York Times* wrote:

New York Times Reporter "A couple of revolver shots probably never before formed a connection between such a line of complicated causes and such an infinite variety of possibly still more complicated effects.... It is feared that the Sarajevo tragedy will still further embitter the none too friendly relations existing between Austria and Serbia."

Researcher (showing slide #9) These slide shows the front page of the *New York Times*, June 29, 1914. The headlines read "Heir to Austria's Throne Is Slain With His Wife by a Bosnian Youth to Avenge Seizure of His Country;" "Tragedy Will Alter Politics of Europe;" "Heir Warned Not to Go to Bosnia, Where Populace Met Him with Serbian Flags."

Narrator President Woodrow Wilson sent the following telegram:

Woodrow Wilson "Deeply shocked at the atrocious murder of His Imperial and Royal Highness Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Consort at an assassin's hands, I extend to Your Majesty...and to the Government of Austria-Hungary the

sincere condolences of the government and people of the United States and an expression of my own personal sympathy."

Narrator

Meanwhile, police had arrested Gavrilo Princip, who failed to kill himself with cyanide he swallowed after firing his revolver. Gavrilo Princip and his aides were sent to prison and put on trial.

Researcher
(showing
slide #10)

This slide shows a scene from the courtroom. The principals are in the front row; Princip is third from the left.

Leo Pfeffer

"It was difficult to imagine that so frail-looking an individual could have committed so serious a deed.... When I told him I was the investigating judge and asked if he had strength to speak, he answered my questions with perfect clearness in a voice that grew steadily stronger and more assured."

Princip

"I do not regret the deed.... I will explain everything in detail and name the guilty, but only so that innocent people do not suffer."

Popovic

"If we had known World War I would result, the assassination would not have happened. We didn't think anything like that would be the result; it was the sixth assassination attempt in four years. It was a local affair, a personal affair. We didn't think of the world or of any other country. It was our problem, and we were solving it in our own way."

Historian 3

While the investigation wore on, the young conspirators scratched messages and news on the bottom of plates, which the jailers inadvertently helped circulate.

Princip

"Time goes slowly and
There is nothing new-
Today everything is like yesterday,
And tomorrow will bring the same-
But I will always remember
The just words of the fallen falcon Zerajic:

'He who wants to live, has to die.
He who is ready to die, will live forever.'"

Pfeffer

"When the proceedings were finished, [I] asked all the accused to stand up if they felt sorry for their act. All stood except for Princip. When [I] him why he did not get up, Princip answered that he felt sorry for the children who had lost their father and mother...but he did not feel sorry for murdering the Austrian Heir Apparent, because he wanted to kill him."

Princip

"The political union of the Yugoslavs was always before my eyes, and that was my basic idea.... This, and all the rest moved me to carry out the assassination of the Heir Apparent, for I considered him, in regard to his activity, as very dangerous for Yugoslavia.... I am a Yugoslav nationalist, aiming for the unification of all Yugoslavs, and I do not care what form of state, but it must be free from Austria."

handout 2a

- Historian 3 Because the assassin was a Serbian, Austria-Hungary decided to use the murder as an excuse to teach Serbia a lesson. Soon, Germany and Russia were involved.
- Austrian
Government
Official "Serbia must learn to fear us again!"
- Berchtold "Your Excellency will present the following note to the Royal Government on the afternoon of Thursday, July 23. . ."
- Ambassador
Von Giesl "Now the history of the past few years and particularly the painful events of the 28th of June, have proved the existence of a subversive movement in Serbia, whose object is to separate certain portions of its territory from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.... The Imperial and Royal Government finds itself compelled to demand that the Serbian Government give official assurance that it will condemn...the whole body of the efforts whose ultimate object is to separate from the Monarchy territories that belong to it."
- Russian
Council of
Ministers
Member "The minister of foreign affairs informed the Council of Ministers that...the Austro-Hungarian government had turned upon the Serbian government with demands which appeared, in fact, to be quite unacceptable to the Serbian government as a sovereign state, and which were drawn up in the form of an ultimatum calling for a reply within a definite time, expiring tomorrow, at six o' clock in the evening."
- Serbian
Government
Official "The Serbian government has received the communication of the Imperial and Royal government of the 23rd.... The Royal Government considers it its duty as a matter of course to begin an investigation against all those persons who have participated in the outrage of June 28th and who are in its territory. As far as the cooperation in this investigation of specially delegated officials of the Austro-Hungarian government is concerned, this cannot be accepted, as this is a violation of the constitution and of criminal procedure."
- William II "The reply of the Serbian government to the Austrian ultimatum...makes it clear that Serbia has agreed to the Austrian demands to such an extent that, in case of a completely uncompromising attitude on the part of the Austro-Hungarian government, it will become necessary to reckon upon the gradual defection from its cause of public opinion throughout all Europe."
- Berchtold "The Royal Serbian Government not having answered in a satisfactory manner the note of July 23, 1914, ...Austria-Hungary consequently considers herself henceforward in a state of war with Serbia."
- Historian 1 Following Austro-Hungarian's declaration, the complex system of alliances between European countries brought about a general mobilization and the start of the first World War I. The war raged for

many years, and millions of lives were lost fighting in the trenches as the two sides sought to gain territory. The tide began to turn in favor of the Allied forces by 1917. People began to speculate on the end of the war and possible terms of peace.

Woodrow
Wilson

"The program of the world's peace and the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at...diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.
14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Historian 2

Wilson was an idealist. He felt that the secret diplomacy of the power broker era has lead to the war. Wilson was a strong proponent of democracy, public input into policy making, and the right for self-determination of one's government. Most of his 14 points dealt specifically with restoring the territorial status quo as it had been before the war. However, his notion of self-determination in the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire encouraged Yugoslavia's efforts to become an independent nation, the goal sought by Princip and many others who had lived under Austro-Hungarian rule.

Historian 3

During the war, different ethnic groups within the Balkans debated how to redraw the map of Europe if the Austro-Hungarian Empire fell. The Croats, ruled at the time by several rulers, wanted to unify all the Croatian people under one ruler. Before the war, most Croats wanted to unify under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, because they shared the Catholic faith with the Austro-Hungarians. In May 1917, 33 members of the Austrian Parliament—South Slavs of both Serbian and Croatian ethnicity—declared their intention to form a unit within the monarchy:

Korosec

"On the basis of the national principle, as well as of Croatian state rights, we demand the unification of all the lands of the monarchy which are inhabited by Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, into a single, autonomous political body, free from the rule of an alien people and founded on a democratic basis, under the scepter of the Habsburg-Lotharingian Dynasty, and that we will bend all our efforts to the realization of this demand by our united people."

Historian 1

An exiled Serbian government pressed for the notion of a Greater Serbia. The Yugoslav Committee, composed of exiled Serbian and Croatian politicians from Austria-Hungary, sought a unified Yugoslavia composed of the major ethnic groups. These two organizations eventually met to determine the future shape of the nation. Their compromise solution was to create a unified Yugoslavia ruled by the royal family of Serbia in a constitutional monarchy. In the aftermath of the war, a new state was

handout 2a

created. It was called the Kingdom of the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes. In 1929, it *officially changed its name* to Yugoslavia.

Narrator Two people died that June morning in Bosnia, but the terrible conflict that followed claimed the lives of more than 8 million soldiers and 6 million civilians.

NAME TAGS (1 of 3)

Narrator	Historian 1
Historian 2	Historian 3
Student 1	Student 2
Student 3	Archduchess Zita
Franz Ferdinand	Archduke Rainer

handout 2b

NAME TAGS (2 of 3)

Sophie Chotek	Count Harrach
Leo Pfeffer	Austrian Gov. Official
Berchtold	Von Giesl
Apis	Member of Serb. Group
Serbian Gov. Official	Major Tankosic

NAME TAGS (3 of 3)

Popovic	Gavrilo Princip
Cabrinovic	Mayor of Sarajevo
Korosec	Member of Russ. Counc.
NYT Reporter	Woodrow Wilson
Researcher	William II

Lesson Three

THE ONE AND THE MANY: UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN A MULTINATIONAL STATE



What kept Yugoslavia and its various nationalities together, and what drove them apart during various periods in Yugoslavia's history?

Introduction

This lesson will introduce students to one of the crucial issues in the history of Yugoslavia: the relations among the different nationalities, and how (or whether) they should be organized within a single state. What factors united the diverse peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and what factors divided them? What strategies—political, social, economic—did Yugoslavia's rulers employ to satisfy the national aspirations of Yugoslavia's ethnic groups while maintaining the country's unity? Which were most and least successful, and why? Was the ultimate collapse inevitable, or could it (and should it) have been averted?

Students will split up into four groups, and each group will cover a different time period. They will read a two-page text on their period and then discuss among themselves the questions posed at the end of the reading. A debriefing at the end of the lesson will allow students to report back to the class on their findings.

Objectives

- to introduce students to the main periods of Yugoslavian history
- to recognize the complexity of multinational states
- to explore methods of dealing with conflict

Connection to the History and Social Science Curriculum

This lesson can be used in conjunction with the themes of nationalism and World War I or with unresolved problems of the modern world.

Time

We recommend one to two class periods for this lesson.

Materials

- Handout 3A, *Group One: 1918 - 1941: The "First" Yugoslavia*, see procedures
- Handout 3B, *Group Two: 1941 - 1945: World War II*, see procedures

lesson three

- Handout 3C, *Group Three: 1945 - 1974: The "Second" Yugoslavia*, see procedures
- Handout 3D, *Group Four: 1974 - 1992: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia—One State Becomes Many*, see procedures
- Handout 3E, *Journal*, one copy per student
- Transparency 3A: *I would like to live to see...*

Suggested Procedures

1. Divide students into groups of four to five and distribute Handouts 3A to 3D:
Group One: 1918 - 1941: The "First" Yugoslavia;
Group Two: 1941 - 1945: World War II;
Group Three: 1945 - 1980: The "Second" Yugoslavia; and
Group Four: 1980 - 1992: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia—One State Becomes Many,
Every student in each group should have the same handout (for example all students in the first group will have Handout #A, *Group One: 1918 - 1941: The "First" Yugoslavia*). Depending on the size of the class, you might need to double up some of the groups, for example two groups may which will look at Handout 3A, etc.
2. Explain to the students that they will have to read their handouts, perform a task, and make a presentation to the rest of the class.

Bringing Closure to the Curriculum Unit

1. Bring closure to this curriculum unit by describing the debate about how interpersonal conflicts and international conflicts are related using the following information:
 - Many historians and international relations experts believe that the behavior of nations involved in conflict is like the behavior of individuals in interpersonal conflicts, because, in fact, it is individuals who are interacting with each other. If this is true, then it would seem that nations can manage or resolve their conflicts in many of the same ways that individuals do. A further implication is that if international conflicts are composed of interpersonal conflicts, then one way to resolve an international conflict is to resolve the interpersonal conflicts or improve person-to-person relations.
 - On the other hand, some historians and international relations experts maintain that analogies between interpersonal and international conflicts are misleading. They claim that a nation's behavior is unlike individual behavior and that the options for nations when managing conflicts are distinct from the options for individuals. An implication of this viewpoint is that bad policy judgments can result from making analogies between the two levels of conflict. A further implication is that different moral frameworks exist at interpersonal and international levels.

lesson three

2. Discuss with students the possible analogies between interpersonal and international conflicts by asking the following questions:
 - If students have a conflict, do they usually resolve their conflict nonviolently?
 - Do we learn nonviolent resolution methods, or do these methods come naturally?
 - Are there certain situations in which students feel that they have to use violence to resolve conflicts?
 - What role does law play when resorting to nonviolence as a conflict resolution or management method in interpersonal and international conflicts?
 - Is anyone ever legally authorized or required to use violence?
3. Review some of the key questions related to group formation and group identity, and both their advantages and disadvantages:
 - Why do people form groups? What are the advantages and disadvantages of group identity and group formation? What creates the following situations? "Us" versus "Them"; "Including" and "Excluding"; "Unifying" and "Dividing".
 - What conditions might cause a group (ethnic group, nation) to move from an inclusive, unifying idea of identity rather than an exclusive, dividing idea?
 - In summary, how do you resolve conflicts among identity groups (among ethnic groups, nations)? What principle does a civil society need in order to avoid conflicts among its various members?
4. Display Transparency 3A, *I would like to live to see...* and ask students how a multinational/ multiethnic state should be organized.
5. Assign a journal writing activity by distributing a copy of Handout 3E, *Journal*, to each student

U.S. Foreign Policy



U.S. foreign policy toward the conflict in Yugoslavia began in 1989, with the Bush Administration crossing the country off its strategic agenda. In 1991, the U.S. government welcomed European initiatives and began to define a post-cold-war policy in which regional organizations (such as the European Communities or NATO) would be responsible for managing regional conflicts.

To follow up on this unit you might want to discuss some of the following U.S. policy options towards the conflict in Yugoslavia. Ask your students whether there are more options.

- ☐ 1. Stay out of the conflict—U.S. actions should be limited to humanitarian efforts and participation through multilaterally sponsored (for example through the U.N.) sanctions only.

lesson three

- ☐ 2. Engage in an international ground operation to stop the killing in the former Yugoslavia.
- ☐ 3. The U.S. should take the lead in a U.N. sponsored military action without committing troops to a ground war.
- ☐ 4. The conflict in the former Yugoslavia is a result of European history. For this reason, the Europeans should take the lead in dealing with the conflict, with the U.S. not trying to act as global policeman.



1. Should the U.S. be concerned by the emergence of regional conflicts in Europe and elsewhere? How does it affect the U.S.? What should be done? Who should do it? What are the obligations of the U.S. to create a "New World Order?"
2. How can the international community accept the right of intervention to protect universal human rights, and at the same time respect the right of peoples to noninterference in internal affairs?
3. What should be/can be done to ease the difficulties of multiethnic, multinational states so that human rights, regardless of ethnic or national background, are protected?
4. To what extent is the United States a model for a pluralistic, multiethnic, multicultural society?
5. What should be/can be done so that ethnic or national groups can enjoy rights to self-determination without jeopardizing the rights of others or the state they are a part of?

GROUP ONE: 1918 - 1941: THE "FIRST" YUGOSLAVIA (1 of 2)

Yugoslavia—or the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, as it was first called—was formed at the end of World War I, and was recognized as a new state by the victorious Allies at the peace agreement ending the war. The country united the former Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, which had fought on the side of the Allies, with the lands of the defeated Austro-Hungarian Empire that were populated by South Slavs. The two largest groups, Serbs and Croats, spoke the same language (Serbo-Croatian) and lived together in some territories, such as Bosnia, but Serbia and Croatia had never been part of the same state. Serbs are Eastern Orthodox Christians and were ruled for centuries by the Ottoman empire; Croats and Slovenes are Roman Catholics and were for centuries under Austrian and Hungarian rule. A large portion of the population of Bosnia is Muslim, Serbo-Croatian speaking Slavs who converted to Islam during the centuries of Ottoman Turkish rule.

The "Yugoslav idea" arose in the 19th century among intellectuals and politicians who sought to overcome these religious, ethnic, and historical differences and build harmony and unity among the Slaves living in the Balkans. Many welcomed the formation of the new state in 1918 as the fulfillment of this dream and as a way to create a larger, more powerful country that could defend itself from the territorial claims of neighboring states. But there soon arose conflicts over how to share power among the diverse groups.

Yugoslavia was a constitutional monarchy headed by the Serbian king, and it was ruled from the center, meaning that the various nationalities could not exercise local political control. This satisfied many Serbs, who formed the largest group, but the other nationalities resented Serbian dominance. Opposition to the state was particularly strong among Croats, many of whom longed for greater national autonomy or independence. Croatian political leaders often refused to participate in the central government until their demands for autonomy were met. In 1928, the head of the leading Croatian political party was assassinated in parliament by a Serbian delegate. King Alexander responded to the growing crisis in 1929 by suspending the constitution, dissolving parliament, and establishing a royal dictatorship.

Alexander tried to overcome divisions by encouraging his subjects to think of themselves as Yugoslavs, rather than as Serbs, Croats, or Slovenes. He officially changed the name of the country to Yugoslavia ("Land of the South Slavs"), and created new administrative units that

handout 3a

(2 of 2)

were based on geographical features (rivers) rather than ethnic or historic borders. But his experiment failed to blend the various groups into a single Yugoslav people. A small, extreme nationalist group of Croats, known as the Ustasha, assassinated King Alexander in 1934. Also implicated was Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, who wanted to gain control of Yugoslavia's Adriatic coast.

A brief period of Serbian-Croatian cooperation followed Alexander's assassination. The main political parties of both groups were opposed to the royal dictatorship. It was clear, however, that the Croats did not accept Yugoslavia's political structure. With war in Europe approaching, the central government wanted to reach an agreement with the Croats to ensure their loyalty to the state. In 1939, a large self-governing Croatian province was created, containing about 30 percent of Yugoslavia's territory and population. The new province was allowed to govern many of its own affairs. The agreement satisfied key goals of the Croatian leadership, but Serbs, Slovenes, and Bosnian Muslims now demanded autonomy as well, while the Ustasha wanted complete Croatian independence. Because the Nazis invaded and dismembered Yugoslavia in April 1941, no one knows whether or not the 1939 compromise could have led to a political system that satisfied all of Yugoslavia's nationalities.



Discuss the following questions with your group:

1. List arguments for and against the creation of Yugoslavia.
2. What factors united the peoples of Yugoslavia? What factors divided them?
3. Did centralized rule contribute to or detract from the "Yugoslav idea" of South Slav unity and harmony? Support your answers.

GROUP TASK

As a group, write a skit that shows how different people wanted to organize the new state differently. In addition to King Alexander's role, other roles to include could be that of members of various nationalities who accepted or rejected King Alexander's idea of the "First" Yugoslavia. Before you present your skit to the rest of the class, give your own summary of the text and introduce your task.

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63

GROUP TWO: 1941 - 1945: WORLD WAR II (1 of 2)

Nazi Germany wanted to use Eastern Europe as a staging ground for its planned attack on the Soviet Union. In early 1941, Hitler insisted that Yugoslavia join the Axis alliance, just as neighboring Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria had done. Yugoslavia resisted for a time, but with Hitler at the height of his power, finally gave in and joined the alliance on March 25, 1941. Within days, however, the government was overthrown by Serbian officers from the Yugoslav Army. Hitler was enraged at this challenge to Germany's dominance in Europe, and on April 6, 1941, the Nazis invaded. Within just two weeks, the Yugoslav Army was forced to surrender.

Capitalizing on tensions within the country, Hitler quickly moved to dismember Yugoslavia. Germany, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania all annexed parts of the country. At the same time, the Nazis created a separate Croatian state, enlarged to include Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The occupation and the division of the country by the Axis powers began a period of great brutality. More than 1 million people died in Yugoslavia during the war. Roughly half of them were Serbs, many of whom were killed at the hands of the Ustasha, a Croatian fascist group. Serbian guerrilla forces retaliated against Croats and Bosnian Muslims. Much of the worst fighting and atrocities took place in Bosnia, where the people spoke Serbo-Croatian but were divided among adherents of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, Islam, and Roman Catholicism. Many in Yugoslavia and abroad felt that the war was causing so much bloodshed and mutual hostility that the "Yugoslav idea" was dead.

Two major guerrilla movements emerged to resist the Nazis. The mainly Serbian Chetniks were loyal to the exiled King of Yugoslavia and to the restoration of the pre-war, Serbian-dominated constitutional monarchy. The Partisans, led by the Communist party and its leader Josip Broz Tito (half-Croat, half-Slovene), wished to recreate Yugoslavia as a communist state.

The Chetniks and the Partisans battled for control of Yugoslavia even as they fought the Nazis. At first, the communist-led Partisans were comprised mainly of Serbs fleeing from the terror of the Croatian Ustasha. Later, they gathered more members of other nationalities by appealing to their desire for national autonomy and to their resentment of pre-war Serbian dominance. Tito declared the Partisan resistance the "national-liberation struggle."

handout 3b

(2 of 2)

By 1943, the communist Partisans had distinguished themselves as the most effective guerrilla group and gained the backing of the Western Allies (the United States and Great Britain), in addition to the Soviet Union. By war's end in 1945, Tito's Partisans had gained firm control of the country. To consolidate his power, Tito struck out at his enemies, real and potential, with little regard for nationality. The leader of the Chetniks was executed, the Catholic archbishop of Croatia was imprisoned, and thousands more were killed.

In 1946, Tito proclaimed the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Out of the ashes of World War II, Yugoslavia reemerged as a communist dictatorship. To fulfill Tito's promise of developing "a national sense for each separate people," the "new" Yugoslavia,—unlike the pre-WW II, Serbian-dominated and centrally ruled "first" Yugoslavia—was a federation of six republics: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. All real power, however, was concentrated in the hands of Tito and the communist leadership.



Discuss the following questions with your group:

1. How did the Nazi occupation contribute to the division of Yugoslavia?
2. What was the goal of the guerrilla movements?
3. How did Tito's Yugoslavia, the "Second Yugoslavia" differ from the pre-World War I Yugoslavia, the "First Yugoslavia"?

GROUP TASK

Your task is to design a speech to persuade your audience about your beliefs. Determine who your audience (Western Allies, different nationalities, etc.) will be, and begin your speech with the following quote by Marshall Tito (Tito, December 1942):

"It would be only a phrase, moreover a deception, if it did not have—in addition to its general Yugoslav sense—a national sense for each separate people, that is, if it did not also mean the liberation of Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Macedonians, Albanians, Muslims, etc., if the national liberation struggle did not have the content of liberty, equality, and fraternity for all the peoples of Yugoslavia."

Before you present your speech to the rest of the class, give your own summary of the text and introduce your task.

GROUP THREE: 1945 - 1980: THE "SECOND" YUGOSLAVIA (1 of 2)

The occupation and division of Yugoslavia by fascist powers during World War II was accompanied by internal fighting between different nationalist and political groups. Over 1 million Yugoslavs lost their lives. With the help of the Soviet Red Army and the backing of Britain and the United States, the Partisans—a guerrilla resistance movement led by Communist leader Josip Broz Tito—took control of Yugoslavia when Nazi Germany was defeated.

The country was organized as a multinational federation, united under the Communist party. Six republics were created: Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Only Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes had been recognized in the pre-war monarchy as separate South Slav nationalities. The communists recognized two more: Macedonians and Montenegrins. Bosnia-Herzegovina, with its mixed population of Muslims (Serbo-Croatian speaking Slavs), Eastern Orthodox Christians (Serbs), and Roman Catholic Christians (Croats), was meant to serve as a buffer between the two largest republics, Serbia and Croatia.

Tito understood the difficulties of ruling a multinational population. A key element of his rule was to balance delicately the interests of the various national groups. He promoted a system where important political positions rotated among members of different nationalities, and he particularly supported the aspirations of the smaller national groups, to reduce the Serbian dominance that they had resented before the war.

Still, real power lay in the hands of the small inner circle of the Communist party leadership. Concessions to various nationalities satisfied their psychological need for autonomy, but granted them little real political independence. Marxism preached that nationalism was the product of capitalist society, and that a communist "workers' dictatorship" would eliminate national loyalties and ethnic conflict. Tito expressed this hope early in his rule: *I would like to live to see the day when Yugoslavia would become a single nation, in which our five peoples would become a single nation. You had a similar process of establishing a single nation in America, where a single nation was created from English and other nations* (Tito, December 1952).

Most people, however, continued to think of themselves as Serbs, Croats, or Slovenes, rather than Yugoslavs. And Tito gradually abandoned efforts of creating a "Yugoslav" nation: *There are people, including even communists, who are tired of this mighty slogan [brotherhood and unity] from our liberation struggle and who believe that nationalities in our socialist development have*

handout 3c

(2 of 2)

already outlived their usefulness and should disappear. They confuse the unity of the country with the elimination of nations and the creation of a new artificial, i.e. single Yugoslav nation. The Yugoslav socialist integration is a new type of social community, in which all nationalities find their common interests (Tito, March 1969).

For several decades after World War II, however, there was little open conflict among the nationalities. Many people remembered the war and the horrible bloodshed caused by extreme nationalism. Also, the communist leaders suppressed any expressions of extreme nationalism or political opposition to their rule. Finally, a degree of economic prosperity in the 1960s and early 1970s—helped by aid from the West, which supported Tito after he was expelled from the Soviet Bloc in 1948—contributed to reducing ethnic tensions.

Problems did arise, however. For example, the more prosperous republics of Slovenia and Croatia resented the money they had to provide to the less developed regions to the south. Tito dealt with such complaints by granting the individual republics more and more control of their own affairs. A new constitution in 1974 greatly reduced the powers of central authorities and turned Yugoslavia from a centrally run federation into a loosely united confederation of six republics, each governed by its local Communist party. As long as Tito was alive and could use his personal authority to negotiate disputes among the republics and national groups, the system continued to work. When he died in 1980, however, the system he left behind seemed ill-suited to deal with Yugoslavia's growing political and economic difficulties.



Discuss the following questions with your group:

1. What were some of the difficulties of ruling a multinational population, and how did Marshall Tito try to solve these problems?
2. What were some of the reasons why there was little open conflict among the various nationalities during this period?
3. How did Tito's vision of a "Yugoslavia" change? Give reasons.

GROUP TASK

As a group, make a list of slogans for banners to be used at a political rally of Marshall Tito's Communist party in 1952 and 1969. Focus the banners on issues that you think are most important and try to use language in a way that will get people's attention. What is the power of a slogan? Before you present your banners to the rest of the class, give your own summary of the text and introduce your task.

GROUP FOUR: 1980 - 1992: THE DISINTEGRATION OF YUGOSLAVIA—ONE STATE BECOMES MANY (1 of 2)

Since World War II, Yugoslavia's communist rulers had managed to keep a lid on tensions and conflicts between the diverse nationalities that made up Yugoslavia. This was achieved in a number of ways, including political repression, economic development, and a federal system that divided the country into six republics, attempting to satisfy certain demands of the different national groups, especially the smaller ones, while preventing any one group from dominating.

Many people, however, felt that their primary loyalty was not to Yugoslavia, but to their own nationality. In the early 1970s, journalist Dusko Doder wrote after traveling through Yugoslavia, "After a few weeks, I realized that there was no such thing as Yugoslavia. There are Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, and others who in some respects seem as unlike each other as people from different countries."

Josip Broz Tito, the World War II resistance leader and "president-for-life" of Communist Yugoslavia, had been at the center of the political and ethnic balancing act that kept Yugoslavia together. When he died in 1980, Yugoslavia entered a period of political and economic crisis. In the 1980s, the need to pay back foreign loans that had propped up the economy in the 1960s and 1970s contributed to a decline in living standards. The economic problems in turn helped fuel growing nationalist sentiment. Communist leaders in the six republics increasingly appealed to nationalism in order to increase their local power base. Without Tito's personal authority, there had not been a way to reconcile nationalist hostilities.

In 1987, Slobodan Milosevic won control of the Communist party organization in Serbia, and quickly gained popularity by promising to promote Serbian rights. The main flash point was then the province of Kosovo. Kosovo had been the heart of the Serbs' medieval kingdom, but Albanians, whose rapidly growing population made up close to 90 percent of Kosovo's population, were demanding independence from Serbia. Milosevic revoked Kosovo's autonomy and crushed Albanian protests, and his allies took over the local governments of the Serbian province of Vojvodina and the neighboring republic of Montenegro.

handout 3d

(2 of 2)

Meanwhile, leaders in Slovenia and Croatia felt threatened by Milosevic's ambitions. In 1989, the Slovenian Assembly declared that Slovenia had the right to secede from Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia's disintegration accelerated in 1990. The fall of communism throughout eastern Europe brought free elections to Yugoslavia as well. Nationalist parties won in all six republics. Slovenia's and Croatia's leaders announced that they would secede from Yugoslavia unless it were turned into a very loose confederation. Milosevic, on the other hand, wanted the opposite—a tighter federation.

Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence in June 1991, claiming their right to self-determination and insisting that the borders between the former Yugoslav republics could not be changed. But members of the Serbian minority in Croatia, supported by the Yugoslav army, rebelled against secession, claiming that they, too, had the right to self-determination and the right *not* to secede from Yugoslavia. A six-month war left Serbs in control of almost one-third of the republic of Croatia, while a shaky cease-fire ended the war but not the political stand-off.

The Muslims and Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina voted in favor of secession in March 1992. Its independence was recognized by the international community as an independent state, but Bosnian Serbs, representing one-third of the population, rebelled. The war that followed has taken tens of thousands of lives and created hundreds of thousands of refugees on all sides. Muslims have been the greatest victims, driven from their homes by Serb forces seeking to carve out their own territory from Bosnia and join it to Serbia. Some Bosnian Croats have similar goals, and their alliance with the Muslims has often broken down into terrible fighting over territory. International mediation has yet to resolve the political disputes or end the fighting.



Discuss the following questions with your group:

1. What were some of the key factors that contributed to the disintegration of Yugoslavia?
2. Could the disintegration have taken place peacefully? Support your answer.

GROUP TASK

As a group, draw three cartoons that express three different themes mentioned in the above text. Explain to the class how you composed the cartoons. Before you present your cartoons to the rest of the class, give your own summary of the text and introduce your task.

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I would like to live to see
the day when Yugoslavia
would become a single
nation, in which our five
peoples would become a
single nation.

You had a similar process
of establishing a single
nation in America, where a
single nation was created
from English and other
nations.

(Marshall Tito, December 1952)

handout 3e

JOURNAL

Comment on the following questions:

- Should a majority impose its will on the minority? If so, to what extent is such imposition justified?
- What should be/can be done so that ethnic or national groups can preserve their identities without requiring their own state?
- Where does "minority identity" end and "majority loyalty" begin?



Lined area for journaling or writing answers to the questions.



APPENDICES

TIMELINE

- 6/28/1389 Battle of Kosovo. A fading Serbia is soundly defeated by Turkey. The Serbs choose death over surrender; this battle remains a strong nationalist symbol.
- 1877-78 Russo-Turkish War; Serbs side with Russia.
- 7/1878 Serbia granted independence as part of settlement of Russo-Turkish War; Austria-Hungary occupies Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 3/6/1882 Establishment of Kingdom of Serbia.
- 10/8/1908 Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia-Herzegovina, to control rising pro-Serb sentiment. This increases tensions between Russia, a Serb ally, and Germany, an Austria-Hungarian ally.
- 10/1912 Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece declare war on Turkey; Serbia acquires Macedonia.
- 6/28/1914 Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated by a Bosnian Serb in Sarajevo. Because of already existing tensions, this sparks World War I, during which Serbia loses 23 percent of its population.
- 12/1/1918 Declaration of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in the aftermath of World War I. Internal disagreement continues over how to govern the country. Serbs want a strong central government while Croats and Slovenes advocate a loose confederation of fairly autonomous states.
- 1920 The Socialist Workers party (communist) gains considerable popularity; it calls for the creation of a Yugoslav Soviet Republic. This new popularity mirrors communism's growth throughout central Europe.
- 1921 The Kingdom outlaws communist and anarchist propaganda.
- 6/28/1921 The constitutional congress passes a strong centralist constitution advocated by the nationalistic Serbian Radical party. The Croatian Peasant party, which backed a federalist constitution, boycotted the congress.
- 8/16/1921 Alexander I succeeds his father as king.
- 1921-1928 Serbs dominate the government and the army, imposing the law on Croatia and Slovenia.
- 6/1928 The leader of the Croatian Peasant party is assassinated in parliament by a Serb member in the culmination of a power struggle that ensued following the death of the head of the Serbian Radical party in 1926.
- 1/1929 In response to the disorganization in parliament, King Alexander suspends the constitution and assumes royal control. He attempts to unite the country, eliminate the official designations of Croatia and Serbia, and encourage everyone to think of themselves as Yugoslavs.
- 10/9/1929 As part of his program to unite the country, King Alexander changes its name to Yugoslavia.
- 9/1931 Adoption of a new constitution supporting the royal dictatorship.
- 10/9/1934 King Alexander is assassinated while on a trip to France. Ustasha (a fascist Croatian nationalist organization), a Macedonian revolutionary organization, and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini are implicated, as are Hungary and Bulgaria.

appendices

- 1937 Josip Broz Tito becomes leader of the Yugoslav Communist party; he advocates Yugoslavia put up a unified front to resist Nazi Germany.
- 3/1937 Yugoslavia signs a non aggression pact with Italy.
- 8/1939 Yugoslavia's Prince Paul, in an attempt to keep the country from disintegrating, forms the autonomous province of Croatia. This leads to more dissent as the Serbs, Slovenes, and Bosnian Muslims demand similar autonomy. The Serbs in Croatia fear they will not be represented in the Croatian government, and the extremists on both sides refuse to accept any compromise; Ustasha wants complete independence for Croatia, and Serbs want total control by the central government.
- 3/25/1941 Under extreme pressure from Germany, Prince Paul signs the Tripartite Pact of the Axis, allying Yugoslavia with Germany.
- 3/27/1941 Prince Paul is deposed in a nonviolent coup. Alexander's son Peter is installed as King.
- 4/6/1941 Nazi Germany invades Yugoslavia, which surrenders within two weeks. King Peter flees the country, eventually establishing a government in exile in London.
- 4/10/1941 Germany establishes a puppet government in Croatia. Ante Pavelic, the leader of Ustasha, is put in charge. Between 350,000 and 700,000 Serbs die in Ustasha death camps. In Serbia, a "government of national salvation" is installed under General Milan Nedic, but it has no armed forces and no control over foreign affairs. Slovenes are either conscripted into labor camps or the German war industry, or sent to Serbia.
- Tito leads the communist resistance. Colonel Draza Mihailovic leads the Chetniks, an anti-communist, Serbian nationalist organization. Initially supported by the Allies, the Chetniks are so anti-communist that they end up collaborating with the Germans. The Allies initially support Mihailovic, but switch their support to Tito in 1943 when it becomes obvious his Partisans have been the most effective against the Nazis. There is considerable fighting between Tito's forces and the Chetniks, and the Chetniks commit many atrocities on non-Serbs, especially the Croats.
- 1942 Tito establishes National Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) with regional councils and local people's committees in liberated areas.
- 11/1943 Tito begins to receive support from the British. Tito is appealing to people in much of Bosnia and in Slovenia, Croatia, and Montenegro because he promises to treat all nationalities equally. Serbs generally support the Serbian nationalist Chetniks.
- 1944 Germany withdraws from Yugoslavia. Communist and Chetnik forces each control some territory.
- 5/1944 Two governments now claim to rule Yugoslavia, Tito's AVNOJ and King Peter's government in exile. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill forces King Peter, who had supported Mihailovic, to appoint a premier, Ivan Subasic, to work with Tito. Subasic forms a unity government with Tito, but is given no real power. Subasic resigns in protest and is arrested.
- 10/20/1944 Tito's forces, fighting with the Soviet Army, capture Belgrade from the Chetniks.
- 11/1945 A new assembly abolishes the old monarchy and declares the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

appendices

1946	Tito ruthlessly consolidates his power; thousands of his opponents are killed. Nationalism poses a threat to the government and the newly reunited country. Tito controls it by establishing the republics, each of which is dominated by a particular nationality.
1/1946	A new constitution establishes the republics of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The economy is nationalized, most land is confiscated, and political dissent and religion are suppressed.
1947-1951	Tito's government runs a Soviet-style five year plan of economic development.
6/28/1948	Yugoslavia is expelled from Cominform, the Soviet Communist Information Bureau. Tito and the Yugoslavian Communist party are denounced. Unlike most of Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe, communism is popular with the Yugoslav population, and Tito does not need the Soviets to maintain his power. Tito is therefore able to act independently. The Soviets (and Stalin in particular), unaccustomed to this behavior from a satellite country, are angered. Relations with the USSR remain poor until after Stalin's death in 1953.
1950	The government begins to decentralize economic planning.
1951-1954	Yugoslavia builds relations with non-communist countries of Greece, Turkey, and the United States.
1955	Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev visits Belgrade to improve relations between the countries.
7/18-19/1956	Leaders of India and Egypt meet with Tito in Yugoslavia, beginning the nonaligned movement, a group of smaller countries that will not align themselves with either of the superpowers.
early 1960s	Some of Tito's harshest policies are softened. Some political prisoners released. Some capitalism allowed to creep into the economy. Economic stresses add to existing nationalist tensions between Croatia and Slovenia, which are more developed, and Serbia and other southeastern areas, which are relatively poor.
4/7/1963	A new constitution changes the country's name to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
6/30/1963	Tito is elected president for life.
1969	Tito reorganizes the Yugoslavian leadership structure to share power among all the nationalities.
late 1971	Students in Croatia demonstrate for more political and economic autonomy. To control the unrest, Tito purges the Croatian leadership. Within two years, he also purges the Serbian party.
1974	A new constitution establishes a collective presidency. Tito is elected president of the collective presidency until his death, after which members of different nationalities will rotate into the presidency annually. The constitution also designates two autonomous provinces within the Republic of Serbia: Kosovo and Vojvodina. They are granted almost as much autonomy as the republics, including control of the police, the courts, and local defense.

appendices

- 5/4/1980 Tito dies, and the collective presidency assumes full power. Without Tito's strong hand, the country begins to unravel.
- 3-5/1981 Students and workers protest in Kosovo. Kosovo is ninety percent ethnic Albanians (who are Muslim), and many resent being ruled by the Republic of Serbia. Demonstrations are firmly put down by the government. The Kosovo issue worsens Yugoslavia's relations with neighboring Albania.
- 5/1982 Milka Planinc, a Croatian, is elected premier.
- 6/1982 Congress of League of Communists states adherence to Tito's main principles of decentralization and non alignment.
There is more unrest in Kosovo. The national government conducts a major purge of Kosovo's leadership, police, and universities. Many ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins flee the terrorism in Kosovo, and the rising refugee population in Serbia causes new tensions.
- 11/1982 Albania's leader, Enver Hoxha, states support for the struggle of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, angering the Yugoslav government and increasing tensions between the two countries.
Yugoslavia experiences hard economic times. Gasoline, heat, and light are all rationed. A high tax is imposed on non business related travel outside Yugoslavia.
- 1-6/1983 The Yugoslav government claims to have arrested 116 members of nationalist and separatist groups in this period. Unrest and terrorism continue in Kosovo.
- 8/20/1983 Thirteen Muslim intellectuals are each sentenced to an average of seven years in prison for advocating the establishment of a purely Muslim state in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- late 1983 Slovenians are angered by a central government plan to force more uniform public education in all the republics. The plan is perceived as an effort to impose Serbian culture and values on all.
Economic difficulties continue.
- 1-9/1984 Retail prices are 67 percent higher than this same period in 1983.
- 10/1984 Tensions with Albania increase again when Yugoslavia cancels talks on scientific and cultural cooperation between the two countries, claiming Albania is unfair to the Yugoslav minority in that country.
- 1985 Serbs push for revision of the 1974 constitution to reduce the autonomy of the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, which are within the Serbian Republic and were once part of it.
The number of strikes are at twice the 1984 level.
- 4/1985 Albanian leader Hoxha dies, and relations with Yugoslavia improve somewhat, though tensions over Kosovo remain.
- 7-12/1985 80 percent inflation for the period.
- 1-10/1986 Inflation reaches 90 percent.
- 2/1986 Ethnic Serbs protest in Kosovo, claiming the ethnic Albanians are pressuring them to leave the province.
- 5/1986 Branco Mikulic, a Croat from Bosnia, replaces Planinc as premier.
- 7/1986 A law is passed in Kosovo that forbids the sale of land to Albanians in "ethnically pure" Serbian villages.

- The political opposition to the Yugoslav central government is getting stronger in Slovenia.
- The central government withdraws wage increases, leading to labor unrest and more strikes.
- 1987 A census finds that the population of Vojvodina is 50 percent ethnic Serbs, and the rest are Hungarians and others. Kosovo's population is 90 percent ethnic Albanian, and 10 percent Serb.
- 4/24/1987 Slobodan Milosevic addresses a crowded hall of Serbs in Kosovo. When the crowd pushes forward, the ethnic Albanian police push back and beat some civilians with clubs. Milosevic is able to stop the police, yelling "No one has the right to beat the people! No one will ever beat you again!" From this time on, Milosevic is a Serbian nationalist hero.
- 8/1987 Many leading politicians are involved in a fraud scandal in which Yugoslav banks lose over half a billion dollars. The vice president of the collective presidency, Hamdija Pozderac resigns. He was to rotate into the presidency in May 1988.
- 10/25/1987 Anti-riot police are moved into Kosovo to deal with the rising unrest.
- mid-12/1987 The president of the Serbian Republic, Ivan Stambolic, is ousted after a campaign by Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Serbian Central Committee (the leader of the Serbian Communist party). Milosevic had been pushing for a strong reaction to the ethnic Albanian attempts to separate Kosovo, and claimed Stambolic was too weak.
- 2/23-26/1988 The first Balkan Conference since before World War II is held in Belgrade. Relations with Albania improve despite the continuing disagreement over Kosovo.
- 3/1988 The Yugoslav People's Army (the national army) expresses anger over Slovenia's increasing liberalism. This generates a strong response among the people, and the army softens its stance somewhat.
- 7-11/1988 There are some 40 rallies in support of Milosevic, who is touting Serbian nationalism and calling for the reintegration of Kosovo and Vojvodina into Serbia.
- Milosevic establishes the Committee for the Protection of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.
- 9/1988 Yugoslavia is elected the next chair of the nonaligned movement. Relations with the Soviet Union improve.
- 10/6/1988 Collective resignation of the entire leadership of Vojvodina; they are replaced with pro-Milosevic politicians.
- 10/7-8/1988 A mass pro-Milosevic meeting in Titograd, the capital of Montenegro, calls for the resignation of the Montenegro Republic's leadership. The rest of Yugoslavia (outside Montenegro and Serbia) perceives this as an attempt to bring Montenegro into Serbia and subvert the system of largely autonomous republics.
- 11/19/1988 Over one million people demonstrate in Belgrade to show support for Milosevic.
- 12/30/1988 Yugoslav Premier Mikulic and his entire cabinet resign after the Federal Assembly fails to pass the economic measures required to maintain Yugoslavia's credit with the International Monetary Fund, on whose loans the country has become highly dependent.

appendices

- 1/1989 Anti-Milosevic elements are purged from the party and government in Vojvodina.
A pro-Milosevic leadership is installed in Montenegro.
- 2/1989 Albanians strike in Kosovo to protest plans for Serbia to take over the province. The strikers demand the resignation of three pro-Milosevic leaders: the Kosovo communist party leader, a member of the Yugoslavia Communist party's Central Committee, and the party boss of Pristina, the capital of Kosovo. All three agree to resign, then withdraw their resignations once the strikes are over.
- 3/23/1989 Kosovo's government accepts an amendment that gives Serbia more control over the province. Popular protest is quelled forcefully.
- 5/8/1989 Milosevic is elected president of the Serbian Republic.
- 6/28/1989 Five-hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. Milosevic, speaking to a crowd of 1 million Serbs at the site of the battle, exhorts them to fight to retain Kosovo.
- 9/27/1989 Slovenia adopts constitutional amendments that give it full right to self rule, including seceding from Yugoslavia.
- 12/1/1989 Serbs who had traveled from Belgrade to Ljubljana, Slovenia's capital, for a protest against the new Slovene amendments are not allowed to demonstrate. In response, Serbia declares a boycott of Slovenia. Croatia officially sides with Slovenia.
- 12/1989 The Croatian Communist party promises free elections in Croatia. The Serbian Communist party follows suit in Serbia, promising elections in 1990. The Yugoslav People's Army protests all this liberalism.
Inflation exceeds 2000 percent.
- 1/14/1990 An emergency congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), breaks up when the Slovene delegation walks out. This marks the end of the monopoly on power the LCY has had since 1945, causing a power vacuum, which each faction will struggle to fill.
- 2/1990 The Yugoslav People's Army moves into Kosovo to stop the fighting between ethnic Albanians and the Serb police.
- 4/8,22/1990 Slovenia holds its first free elections since before World War II. The Reformed Communists are the single biggest party, but are outnumbered by non-communists.
- 4/22/90
- 5/6,7/1990 Elections in Croatia. Rightists win the most seats, followed by the Reformed Communists. Franjo Tudjman is elected president of Croatia, and he promises to win independence from Yugoslavia and to annex ethnic Croat-dominated regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 5/1990 The League of Communists of Yugoslavia attempts another congress, which fails when boycotted by the Slovenes and the Croats.
- 6/26/1990 Serbia rules it may impose any law it wishes on the autonomous state of Kosovo.
- 7/1990 The Serbs form the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), Milosevic is elected its leader.
- 7/5/1990 The Albanian language paper *Rilindja* and Albanian television are shut down by Serbia.

- 8/19/1990 Ninety-nine percent of Croatian Serbs vote for autonomy from the Croatian government. The Croatian government declares the referendum illegal. In several Serb-dominated cities, the Serbs rebel. They break into armories, steal weapons, and block movements of the Croat police. The Yugoslav People's Army assists the Serbs by preventing the Croat police from using helicopters and by providing some material support to the rebels.
- 9/7/1990 The Kosovo Assembly, which had been officially dissolved by the Serbian government, votes to declare Kosovo a federal republic of Yugoslavia, with the same status as Serbia, Croatia, or any of the other republics.
- 9/28/1990 The Republic of Serbia's constitution is revised to repeal the autonomous state status for Kosovo and Vojvodina.
- 11/1990 The League of Communists of the Yugoslav People's Army says the army will hold Yugoslavia together by force if necessary. Reformed Communists are ousted in elections in Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 12/1990 Alija Izetbegovic is elected president of the collective presidency of Yugoslavia. He is also the leader of the Party of Democratic Action, representing the 40 percent of the population that is Muslim. There is continued unrest in Kosovo.
- 12/23/1990 Slovenia holds a referendum in which 95 percent of the people vote for independence from Yugoslavia. Elections in Serbia are dominated by the SPS, Milosevic's party, which win 75 percent of the seats in parliament despite doing poorly in Vojvodina and Belgrade. Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo boycott the election.
- late 1/1991 Several areas in Croatia with Serbian majorities declare themselves autonomous and form the Serbian National Council.
- 3/1991 Ethnic Serbs in Croatia continue clashes with the Croatian government, receiving some support from the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA).
- 3/9/1991 One hundred thousand attend a Belgrade protest against Milosevic's government. The YPA disperses the crowd forcefully, causing several casualties.
- 3/31/1991 United States President George Bush writes a letter supporting a united Yugoslavia.
- 4/1991 A census in Bosnia-Herzegovina finds a population of 4.3 million, 43.7 percent Muslim Slavs, 31.4 percent Serbs and 17.3 percent Croats.
- 5/15/1991 Stipe Mesic, a Croat, is prevented by Serbia from becoming president of the collective presidency, in defiance of the Yugoslav constitution.
- 5/19/1991 Croatia holds a referendum on independence. With a turnout of 85 percent of the eligible voters, 94 percent vote for Croatian independence.
- late 5/1991 The European Community urges Yugoslavia to stick together.
- 6/25/1991 Croatia and Slovenia declare independence from Yugoslavia.
- 6/27/1991 The Yugoslav People's Army attacks Slovenia and is held off by Slovenian forces. Local Serb militias within Croatia begin fighting Croatian forces, receiving some help from the YPA. They declare the Krajina Republic, which the Croats vow to recapture.

appendices

- The European Community (E.C.) negotiates a cease-fire in which Croatia and Slovenia both withdraw their declarations of independence and Serbia agrees to install a Croat as president of the collective presidency of Yugoslavia.
- 7/1/1991 In accordance with the E.C. negotiated cease-fire, Mesic becomes president of the collective presidency.
- during 7/1991 The Yugoslav People's Army withdraws from Slovenia but begins fighting in Croatia.
- 9/25/1991 The United Nations declares an arms embargo on all Yugoslav republics.
- 10/1991 One-third of Croatia is controlled by the YPA and Serb paramilitary groups. The E.C. has made numerous attempts to negotiate cease-fires, but all fail.
- 10/15/1991 After Serb members of the Bosnian parliament leave, the remainder declare Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence.
- 10/24/1991 Serb "Autonomous Regions" within Bosnia-Herzegovina nominate Dr. Radovan Karadzic as their representative to the Yugoslavian government.
- 11/1991 The E.C. admits failure in its attempts to negotiate peace and turns all peace efforts over to the U.N.. Cyrus Vance is appointed the U.N. Special Envoy to Yugoslavia.
- 11/9,10/1991 The Bosnian Serbs hold a referendum on independence; a huge majority vote to remain a part of Yugoslavia.
- 12/1991 The economy of the republics continues to do poorly; industrial output is down another 25 percent.
- early 12/1991 Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, and Macedonia all apply for membership in the European Community.
- 12/23/1991 Germany recognizes Croatia and Slovenia. Soon after, the E.C. announces it will recognize the two republics in January 1992.
- The Republic of Serbia recognizes the independence of the Krajina Republic.
- 1/15/1992 The E.C. recognizes Croatia and Slovenia.
- The U.N. sends 14,000 peace keepers to Croatia to maintain a cease-fire between the YPA and the Croats. The agreement also calls for the YPA to return all captured territory to Croatia.
- 2/29/1992
- 3/1/1992 In an E.C.-mandated referendum in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croats and Muslims vote 99.4 percent for independence. Ethnic Serbs boycott the voting.
- 3/3/1992 Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic declares Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence.
- 3/27/1992 Bosnian Serbs declare the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 4/6/1992 The E.C. recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 4/7/1992 The U.S. recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- Both these recognitions may contribute to the fighting because they recognize a country that has no agreement among the various internal factions about how to govern the country in a manner acceptable to all.
- 4/27/1992 Serbian and Montenegro form the "third Yugoslavia," the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. (The first two Yugoslavias were the pre-W.W.II kingdom and

- the post-W.W.II Titoist/communist state.) The new Yugoslavia is not accepted by Western governments.
- 5/13/1992 An army of Bosnian Serbs is created, led by General Ratko Mladic, the former commander of the YPA in the Sarajevo district. YPA officers are thought to be given a choice of returning to Serbian or fighting with Mladic. Many stay.
- Mladic's control of the army, formed by a mix of units from the YPA and paramilitary organizations, is somewhat tenuous. It is not entirely clear to whom Mladic answers—Milosevic, Karadzic or only himself.
- 5/22/1992 Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina are recognized by the U.N.
- 5/24/1992 Yugoslav forces begin to withdraw from Sarajevo, Serbia issues a federal directive for all Serb and Montenegrin troops to leave Bosnia-Herzegovina. All YPA units in Bosnia-Herzegovina "officially return" to the new Federal Republic of Serbia. In fact, many units stay behind.
- Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo hold illegal elections and vote Ibrahim Rugova as their president.
- 5/30/1992 The U.N. Security Council accuses Serbia and Montenegro of aggression and imposes sanctions: a trade embargo (except for medical supplies), a ban on civilian air travel in and out of the republics, a freeze of Serbian assets abroad, and the expulsion of Yugoslav diplomats.
- The Security Council actions, directed against Serbia, assume Milosevic has control of the Bosnian Serb Army. While he was involved in the formation of the army and provides supplies to it, his ability to exert control is probably limited.
- Russia officially supports the U.N. sanctions, but is thought to look the other way on enforcement. Much oil still enters Serbia through Greece, Romania and Bulgaria.
- 5/31/1992 Serbian elections. Milosevic's party, the SPS, retains its majority.
- 6/1992 Dobrica Cosic, a writer and Serb nationalist, is elected president of the new Yugoslavia. Many hope he will oppose Milosevic (who is president of the Republic of Serbia). It later appears that he provides much of the intellectual rationale for Milosevic's Serb nationalism.
- 6/15-7/10/1992 University students in Serbia strike.
- 6/28-7/5/1992 Nearly 300,000 take part in protests organized by opposition political groups and university students.
- 6/29/1992 U.N. peace keepers take over the Sarajevo airport after the Bosnian Serbs leave. The Serbs have taken up artillery positions overlooking the city.
- 7/3/1992 Ethnic Croats declare the formation of Herzeg-Bosnia in the portion of Bosnia-Herzegovina bordering on Croatia.
- 7/7/1992 The Macedonian government, after continually failing to gain international recognition, resigns.
- 7/14/1992 Milan Panic, a California businessman, is elected prime minister of Yugoslavia, officially the second most powerful position in Yugoslavia. He has taken an antiwar, anti-Milosevic stand, though most observers expect he will bend to Milosevic's will. He becomes one of Milosevic's most effective opponents, especially after the imposition of the U.N. sanctions.
- Panic denounces ethnic cleansing by the Bosnian Serbs.

appendices

- 8/1992 U.N. Special Envoy Cyrus Vance and E.C. representative Lord David Owen begin their efforts to negotiate a peace.
- 9/14/1992 The U.N. Security Council authorizes the use of "all means necessary" to get humanitarian supplies to Bosnian cities.
- 9/22/1992 The U.N. General Assembly refuses to allow the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to take the old Yugoslavia's seat, effectively throwing it out of the U.N..
- 10/6/1992 The U.N. Security Council establishes the War Crimes Commission to deal with the war in the former Yugoslavia.
- 10/9/1992 The U.N. Security Council bans all flights over Bosnia except U.N. endorsed humanitarian missions.
- 11/16/1992 The U.N. Security Council authorizes a naval blockade of Yugoslavia.
- 1-11/1992 Industrial output is down another 20 percent for this period.
- 12/1992 An Islamic conference, meeting in Saudi Arabia, calls for military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina and an end to the arms embargo. Arab arms and Islamic volunteers begin to play a role in the hostilities, which they see as a holy war to defend the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 12/16/1992 The U.S. names Serbs and Croats considered to be war criminals; Milosevic is first on the list.
- The U.S. voices support for the Islamic call for an end to the arms embargo on the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 12/17/1992 NATO agrees to carry out enforcement of the no-fly zone if the U.N. votes to ensure compliance.
- The U.S. and U.N. measures were almost certainly designed to strengthen Panic right before the election, but they backfire because Panic had made great efforts to improve Serbia's image abroad, and the new actions are seen as proof of his failure.
- 12/20/1992 Parliamentary and presidential elections in Serbia. Milosevic beats Panic, 56 percent to 34 percent. Milosevic's party loses its majority in parliament but remains the single biggest party. The Radical party, with whom Milosevic forms a coalition government, is the second largest party and has more extreme war views than Milosevic's party.
- 12/29/1992 Panic loses a vote of no-confidence by the parliament and will be replaced as premier.
- 1/22/1993 Fighting breaks out again in Croatia over territory still held the Serbs.
- 3/1/1993 First air drops of humanitarian aid to Bosnian cities by U.S.
- 4/2/1993 Cyrus Vance resigns as U.N. Special Envoy to Yugoslavia.
- 4/7/1993 Macedonia admitted to the U.N. as "the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia." It is banned from flying its flag at all U.N. institutions. The main obstacle to normal membership under the name Macedonia is a territorial dispute with Greece.
- 4/12/1993 Enforcement of the ban on flights over Bosnia begins.
- 4/26/1993 The Bosnian Serbs reject the U.N. peace plan, leading to more sanctions by the U.N..
- 5/1993 Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic signs the Vance/Owen peace plan, but the Bosnian Serb parliament wants a referendum.

appendices

- 5/6/1993 The U.N. Security council passes a resolution calling for the establishment of safe havens—areas protected from fighting—for the Bosnian Muslims.
- 5/12/1993 Milosevic encourages Bosnian Serbs to participate in the peace process.
- 6/1993 In an attempt to improve their position before a peace plan is adopted, the Muslims attack the Croats, with whom they had been allied, in central Bosnia.
- 7/1993 Sarajevo under siege, no electricity or running water in the city.
- 7/30/1993 Representatives of the Muslims, Serbs, and Croats agree on a plan whereby Bosnia is divided into three ethnic enclaves.
- 8/1/1993 Peace talks halt when Serbs take artillery positions overlooking Sarajevo on Mt. Bjelasnica and Mt. Igman. NATO threatens air strikes if the Serbs remain.
- 8/10/1993 International negotiators agree to suspend the peace talks until the Bosnian Serbs withdraw from their new positions over Sarajevo.
- 8/11/1993 The Bosnian Serbs begin withdrawing from the disputed artillery positions.
- 8/16/1993 The peace talks resume, tentatively forming a plan to ensure the safety of Sarajevo.
- 8/26/1993 Muslims in the town of Mostar refuse to allow a U.N. relief convoy to leave, saying they were protected from the worst shelling while it remained. The U.N. sets up a camp in Mostar.
- 9/1993 Izetbegovic rejects a U.N. plan which would give Muslims 30 percent of Bosnia and no seaports.
- Croatia states it may not allow U.N. peace keepers to remain in Croatia because they have failed to guarantee peace or to secure the release of Serb-held territory.
- 9/6/1993 Macedonia cracks down on trucks passing through it to smuggle materials to Serbia.
- 9/16/1993 Negotiators from the three factions tentatively agree to a plan to divide Bosnia into three ethnic republics. The plan calls for a referendum in two years to determine if the republics will be part of a Bosnian state.
- 9/18/1993 Muslims and Croats agree to a cease-fire in Bosnia.
- 9/29/1993 The Bosnian parliament rejects the latest peace plan.

appendices

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Organizations

Association for the Study of Nationalities, City College of New York,
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appendices

Atlantic Council of the United States (John Baker), Former Director, E. Europe and Yugoslav Affairs, Department of State; (202) 862-9500

Bosnia-Herzegovina (Embassy), 866 United Nations Plaza, Suite 580, New York, NY 10017; (212) 751-9015, Fax: (212) 751-9019.

Brandeis University (Steven L. Burg) Professor of Politics. (617) 736-3450.

Brookings Institution (Susan Woodward) Specialist on Yugoslavian politics and economics. (202) 797-6092.

Center for Political Studies/University of Michigan (William Zimmerman) Author of Politics and Culture in Yugoslavia. (313) 764-2301

Committee to Aid Democratic Dissidents in Yugoslavia (Mihajlo Mihajlov) Former Yugoslav dissident and chairman. (202) 232-5161.

Institute on East-Central Europe/Columbia University (Deborah Milenkovitch) Researches socialist economies in transition. (212) 854-4008.

International Rescue Committee (IRC), 386 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10016; (212) 679-0010. • Founded in 1933 at the request of Albert Einstein, IRC helps refugees fleeing from political, religious and racial persecution, as well as uprooted victims of war and famine.

RAND (F. Stephen Larrabee) Political-military aspects of the Balkans. (213) 393-0411.

Refugees International, 220 I Street, N.E., Suite 240, Washington D.C. 20003; (202) 547-3785. • Monitors and analyzes refugee crises to develop and promote strategies and solutions that address specific refugee needs and raise to prominence the issue of refugees and their plight.

Truth about Croatia, Inc. (Josip Krisitc) Information on Croatia, its history and its values. (718) 417-0466.

United Nations Department of Information (for information on U.N. efforts in Yugoslavia); (212) 963-4475

U.S. Department of State, Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, Main State Building, Washington, DC 20520; (202) 647-5116, Fax: (202) 647-5116

University of North Florida/Department of Political Sciences (Jim Seroka) Yugoslav internal politics. (904) 646-2463.

University of Virginia/Department of Government and Foreign Affairs (Reneo Lukic) Specialist in East European politics. (804) 924-3192.

Yale University/Department of History (Ivo Banac) Author of "The National Question in Yugoslavia." (203) 432-1000.

Yugoslavian Embassy, Information Department, 2410 California Street, N.W., Washington D.C. 20008; (202) 462-9663, Fax: (202) 797-9663

appendices

NOTES

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